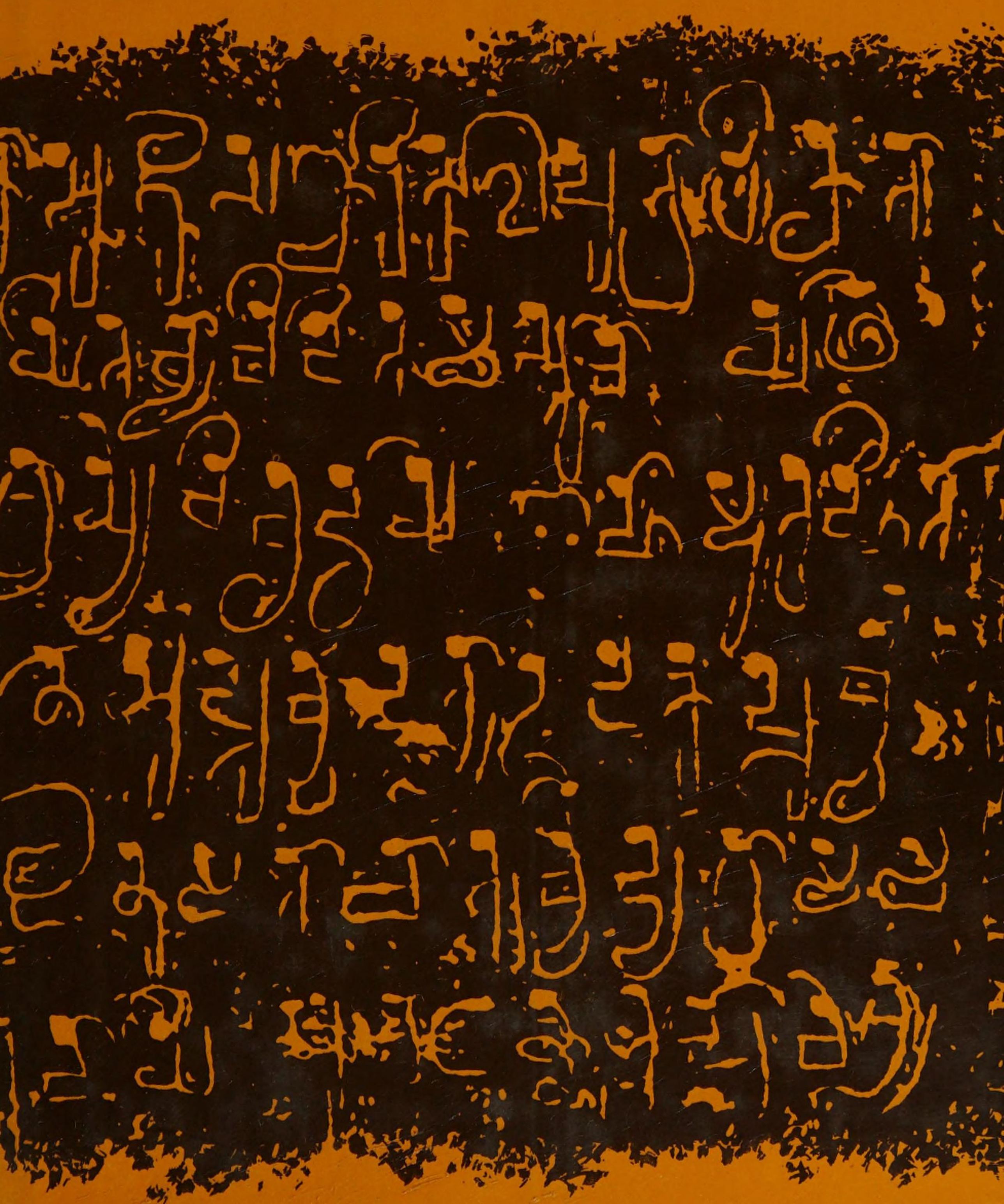
Agrarian Structure in Central India and the Northern Deccan

A Study in Vākāṭaka Inscriptions

Krishna Mohan Shrimali



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An extremely conspicuous lacuna of the historiography of the Vākāṭakas has been an almost complete absence of any discussion on their economy. The present work makes an attempt to fill this gap.

The work takes an overview of economy of the Vākāṭakas during *c.* A.D. 300-500 and focuses on its agrarian structure on the basis of epigraphic evidences. An interesting pattern of settlements pointing towards the burgeoning rural settlements and contraction of urbanism has been delineated in the larger perspective of environmental setting. An attempt has also been made to identify the agents of this new socio-economic transformation and the work concludes by highlighting that the Vākāṭaka territory was the matrix of the earliest articulated tendencies of feudal beginnings.

Apart from being the first survey of the economy of the Vākāṭakas, the cartographic delineation of various aspects of their inscriptions is yet another distinguishing feature of the work. Five maps included here show the chronological and geographical distribution of all Vākāṭaka inscriptions and villages donated by the Vākāṭakas; settlements other than donated villages as well as the geographical configuration of administrative divisions. The texts of some newly discovered inscriptions have also been included.

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AGRARIAN STRUCTURE IN CENTRAL INDIA AND THE NORTHERN DECCAN

By The Same Author

History of Pañcāla, vol. I, A Study

History of Pañcāla, vol. II, Corpus of Coins

AGRARIAN STRUCTURE IN CENTRAL INDIA AND THE NORTHERN DECCAN
(*c.* AD 300-500)

A STUDY OF VĀKĀṬAKA INSCRIPTIONS

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for

Professor Ram Sharan Sharma

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Preface

It was in early March 1983 that Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri informed me about his plans to organize an all India seminar on 'The Age of the Vākāṭakas' and wanted me to contribute a paper. I saw in it an opportunity to refresh my study of these important contemporaries of the Guptas. While I knew that a lot of new inscriptions of the dynasty had come to light in the last two decades since the publication of Professor V.V. Mirashi's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. V, Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas in 1963, not all of them were easily available. Indeed, many of them had been edited and published only in Marathi works. I, therefore, requested Professor Shastri to help me in getting the text of these nearly a dozen new inscriptions, which he did very promptly.

In course of reperusal of Vākāṭaka inscriptions, it was realized that an extremely conspicuous lacuna of the history of the Vākāṭakas was almost a complete absence of any discussion on economy of the times and I started working on this aspect. As a result, we presented some of our preliminary findings on the pattern of settlements under the Vākāṭakas at the 44th Session of the Indian History Congress held at Burdwan in December 1983 and a complementary work taking cognizance of major features of the Vākāṭaka economy was presented at Professor Shastri's seminar in January 1984. These contributions aroused a keen discussion, which helped us a great deal in systematizing our views. This has taken the present form.

The work takes an overview of economy of the Vākāṭakas during *c.* AD 300-500 and focuses on its agrarian structure on the basis of epigraphic evidence. An interesting pattern of settlements pointing towards the burgeoning rural settlements and contraction of urbanism has been delineated in the larger perspective of environmental setting. An attempt has also been made to identify the agents of this new socio-economic transformation and the work concludes by highlighting that the Vākāṭaka territory was the matrix of the earliest articulated tendencies of feudal beginnings.

One of the most important features, apart from this being the first survey of economy of the Vākāṭakas, is the cartographic delineation of various aspects of their inscriptions. Five maps included here show the chronological and geographical distribution of (i) all Vākāṭaka inscriptions and (ii) villages donated by the Vākāṭakas; settlements other than donated villages and geographical configuration of administrative divisions. Detailed notes on these maps have also been provided (Appendix IV). There are six other appendices listing all Vākāṭaka inscriptions, categorizing various settlements of the Vākāṭakas, providing texts of all the new inscriptions of the dynasty and tabulating classified information from inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas with copious notes thereon. An alphabetical index of place names in maps has also been compiled (Appendix V).

I would like to record my very sincere gratitude to Professor R.S. Sharma, who has always been a great source of inspiration for me and numerous discussions with him in course of the last many years have been too fruitful to be expressed in words. To Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri too, should go a very substantial credit for this work. In fact, without his very keen interest reflected in his expeditious despatches of very relevant, inaccessible, indeed indispensable source material, this work could never have taken the shape it now has. I owe a great debt to my senior colleague, Professor D.N. Jha, whose expertise in social and economic history of early India provided me vistas for useful enquiries.

The texts of all the new inscriptions have been included here for the ready reference and benefit of readers. To retain the original form, they are being published in scripts used in their original publication. However, for the sake of uniformity, we have provided annotations in English. Indeed, since some of these inscriptions were published only in Marathi works, this at least, was indispensable. I take this opportunity to thank all the scholars who have edited these inscriptions for which full bibliographic details have been given in the first appendix.

A special mention has to be made for Miss Binda Paranjape, an enthusiastic research scholar in archaeology from the Deccan College, Pune, who helped me in understanding the nuances of Marathi annotations and translating them into English.

To my wife Vandana, no expression of gratitude is sufficient.

Delhi, 13 April, 1987

K.M. Shrimali

Abbreviations

ASR : *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* by Alexander Cunningham

ASWI : *Archaeological Survey of Western India*

CII : *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*

EI : *Epigraphia Indica*

HAS : *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*

IA : *Indian Antiquary*

IAR : *Indian Archaeology—A Review*

ICTWI : *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India* by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji

JASB : *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*

JBBRAS : *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*

JBORS : *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*

JESI : *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*

JNSI : *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*

JPASB : *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*

JUPHS : *Journal of Uttar Pradesh Historical Society*

NIA : *New Indian Antiquary*

NUJ : *Nagpur University Journal*

PIHC : *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*

PTAIOC : *Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Conference*

SI : *Select Inscriptions*, Vd. I, by D.C. Sircar

VIJ : *Vishveshwaranand Indological Journal*

VSMA : *Vidarbha Samshodhak Mandal Annual*

A Note on Appendix VII

The data from inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas have been tabulated in the following order and heads:

1. Place of issue
2. Objective
3. Village/s donated
4. Donee/s
5. Geographical delimitation of the donation
6. Scribe(s) or Dūtaka (D)
7. Gotras mentioned
8. Grant addressed to
9. Privileges granted
10. Deities
11. Administrative divisions
12. Terms of the grant
13. Vedic sacrifices

Heads under which no details are available have been omitted in the tabulation.

CHAPTER ONE

The Vākāṭaka Territory: Geographical and Topographical Features

For nearly two hundred years (*c.* AD 300 to 500) the modern regions of central India and the northern Deccan were under the hegemony of the Vākāṭakas. Keeping in view the geographical distribution of their 36/37[1] inscriptions (see Appendix I), the territory under their jurisdiction may by placed between the 18° and 25° northern latitudes and 74.5° and 81.5° eastern longitudes. It comprised over thirty districts of the present-day Madhya Pradesh[2], Maharashtra[3] and Andhra Pradesh.[4] The inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas mention only six rivers, namely, the Mayasinī, Rājatintiṇika, Beṇṇā, Madhu, Umā and Hiraṇyā. Of these, the last four are identified with the Wainganga, Chandrabhaga, Wunna and Erai respectively but Mayasinī has not been identified satisfactorily. The Rājatintiṇika may be one of the small streams in the vicinity of Masod and in the Wainganga-Wardha-Penganga system. The Hisse-Borala inscription of Devasena was found in a nullah of river, which still retains the name Vatsagulmā. An important branch of the Vākāṭakas ruled from Vatsagulma—probably named after an early settlement in the form of an army garrison town and the river may have been named after it. Some other major rivers delineating the landscape of the Vākāṭaka territory include Wardha, Narmada Tapti, Godavari rivers and their tributaries such as Purna, Dudna and the Penganga. The territory is noticeable for its deep black (*regar*), shallow black and mixed red soils. Though the inscriptions do speak about mineral resources and hidden treasures in general terms, the region does not appear to be very rich from that point of view. The mention of two *bhogas* named Lohanagara and Hiraṇyapura (in the Pattan and Dudia plates respectively—both of Pravarasena II) may be indicative of iron and gold deposits. The findspots of two other inscriptions of Pravarasena II—the Tirodi and

Ramtek plates—are located in manganese mining areas of Tirodi and Mansar respectively. Iron-ore mining in the Chanda district and manganese-bauxite mining in the Nagpur-Bhandara region give an idea of the present-day mineral resources of the region. From the point of view of agricultural resources, people of the land nowadays cultivate wheat, millets, gram, rice, cotton, oilseeds and groundnut. One is inclined to suggest that the corroboration of some of these may be sought in some of the place-names mentioned in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions, such as Kṛṣṇāleśālikaṭaka (village with cultivation of black transplanted paddy—perhaps because of its cultivation on the black soil of the region, Pauni grant of Pravarasena II) and Lavaṇatailaka (Mandhal plates 'A' of the second year of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II).

The topography of the eastern half of the region under discussion (with 78° eastern longitude as the dividing line) is characterized by the Vindhya plateau, whose general level ranges between 300 and 500 metres. Forest covered rocky surface characterizes the landscape. Near Hoshangabad, the Vindhya ranges come very close to the Narmada and present a terraced slope built of hard sandstones alternating with shales. Such terraces can also be seen at the southern and eastern edges of the Kaimur range built of sandstones and limestones. South of the Narmada rises a still higher plateau, 600-1000 metres, bordered on the north by the Satpura range and on the east by the Maikala range. The Wainganga valley divides it into two blocks. To the south of the Satpura plateau and west of Dandakaranya, lies the fan-shaped low land of the Pranhita valley (150-300 metres). This valley is limited on the east by Dandakaranya, a very sparsely populated and rugged terrain in the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh and Kalahandi and Koraput districts of Orissa, and on the west by the Telangana plateau. The lowlands are watered by the Penganga, Wardha and Wainganga rivers. The north-eastern extreme of the Vākāṭaka dominions is marked by the Chhattisgarh basin—a creation of the Seonath, a tributary of the Mahanadi. Agriculturally, the basin is a very productive area. Proceeding from the north to the south in the western half, one notices a conspicuous preponderance of plateaux—Malwa in the north and the Deccan plateau in the south. The intervening Narmada and Tapti valleys are the only green patches. The Malwa plateau is drained by the head-waters of the Chambal and its tributaries. The plateau

is very fertile and densely populated mainly due to its rich black soil derived from lava and fairly regular rainfall. On the south of the Malwa plateau runs the ancient mountain range of the Vindhyas, the bold scarp of which overlooks the wide valley of the Narmada river separating the Vindhyas from the Satpura range. Further south of the Tapti sharply rises the plateau of the Deccan in Maharashtra, built up of nearly horizontal sheets of basaltic lava, known as the "trap" in geological literature. The east-flowing rivers, Godavari and Penganga, have given rise to the terraced and scarped character of the trap landscape. The trap rocks of Maharashtra plateau on weathering have formed the fertile black cotton soil and despite deficiency in rainfall, this soil accounts for the high percentage of area under cultivation.

References

[1]*IAR, 1972-3* p. 40 refers to "Mahurzarai" copperplate of "Pravarasena II" which was acquired by the Central Museum, Nagpur. One wonders if there is any confusion in this report, for, there is another inscription from Mahurjhari, which belongs to "Pṛithiviṣeṇa II".

[2]Balaghat, Betul, Bhilsa, Chhindwara, Damoh, Durg, Hoshangabad, Indore, Jabalpur, Khandwa, Khargaon, Mandla, Narsinghpur, Raisen, Sehore and Seoni.

[3]Akola, Amraoti, Aurangabad, Bhandara, Bir, Buldana, Chanda, Dhulia, Jalgaon, Nagpur, Nander, Osmanabad, Parbhani and Yavatmal.

[4]Karimnagar

CHAPTER TWO

An Overview of the Vākāṭaka Economy

Barring very few notices in Professor R.S. Sharma's *Indian Feudalism*[1], there is almost a complete and conspicuous absence of any discussion on any aspect of economy under the Vākāṭakas in the extant monographic studies, e.g., Professor V.V. Mirashi's monumental volume on the inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas[2] is absolutely silent on aspects of economy and even the discussion of society is substantially based on the Ajanta frescos rather than the rich epigraphic material. This is equally true of his monograph on the Vākāṭakas in Marathi.[3] We propose to undertake a comprehensive overview of the Vākāṭaka economy with an accent on the agrarian structure.

Absence of Coins

Nearly two decades ago Professor Mirashi wrote, "The Vākāṭakas did not strike any coins."[4] We take it as not only one of the most distinguishing trait of the Vākāṭaka economy but also as a very convenient starting point of our enquiries in this realm.

A recent survey of the coinage of the Sātavāhanas[5] does take cognizance of some stray finds of Sātavāhana coins from the Vidarbha region and, apart from the well known Chanda and Tarhala hoards, makes a mention of scanty coin finds of the Sātavāhanas from the so-called Sātavāhana layers at Kaundinyapura and Pauni. The former site yielded just three Sātavāhana coins,[6] while Pauni accounted for two such coins.[7] The elephant types of king Sātavāhana from Akola and Paunar may also be included in the list. Other sites in the Vākāṭaka territory which have yielded very scanty pieces of evidence of Sātavāhana coins are Bhokardan, Peddabankur, Dhulikatta, Jamunia, Tripuri, Tewar, Bheraghat, Balpur and Brahmapuri tahsil (Chanda dist.).[8] Apart from the

Sonepur (Chhindwara dist.) hoard of 670 coins of the western Kṣatrapas, stray Śaka-Kuṣāṇa coins have been reported from Harda (Hoshangabad dist.), Tewar (Jabalpur dist.), Pendharwa (Bilaspur dist.) Jhajhapuri (Bilaspur dist.), Arvi (Wardha dist.), Keolari (Seoni dist.) and Seoni (Seoni dist.).[9] A treasure trove of 36 silver coins of the Kṣatrapas has been reported from Dahigaon in the Malkapur taluka of Buldana district in Maharashtra.[10] Similarly, coins of one of the most important contemporaries of the Vākāṭakas, viz., the Guptas, have been reported from some sites in the Vākāṭaka territories, such as Harda (Hoshangabad dist.), Sakaur (Damoh dist.), Ganeshpur (Jabalpur dist.), Pattan (Betul dist.), Seoni (Seoni dist.), Elichpur and Dhamori (Amraoti dist.), Khairtal (Raipur dist.), Tewar (Jabalpur dist.) and Bhandara (Chanda dist.).[11]

Lest the above review of numismatic evidence creates the impression about the abundance of currency in the Vākāṭaka territory, the following facts need to be emphasized:

(*a*) What Mirashi wrote about the Vākāṭaka coinage two decades ago, remains unaltered to this day.[12]

(*b*) Theoretically it is possible to argue that the Vākāṭakas permitted the circulation of older or other contemporary currencies in their realm. In fact, Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri, while writing the report on the coin finds from Pauni excavations, has said, "it is likely that the Vākāṭakas, having no coins of their own allowed the use of the coins issued by other contemporary dynasties such as the Western Satraps, the Guptas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins."[13] But the archaeological evidence is against such a supposition. Bhokardan, Arni, Pauni, Peddabankur, Dhulikatta, Ter, Malhar, Kahali, etc.,[14] have not yielded any noticeable evidence of post-Sātavāhana settlements. It is true that coins of the Sātavāhanas, Western Kṣatrapas, Kuṣāṇas and Guptas have been reported from sites belonging to the Vākāṭaka territory but there are *no indications*, at least in the present state of our knowledge, that they *remained in circulation during the two centuries of the Vākāṭaka rule as well.*

(*c*) The fact of the Vākāṭakas not issuing any coinage becomes all the more striking when it is recognized that other post-Sātavāhana powers, such as the Ikṣavākus[15] or the not so distant (chronologically or geographically) contemporaries of the Vākāṭakas, viz., the Traikūṭakas and the Bodhis,[16] Viṣṇukuṇḍins,[17] Nalas,[18]

and the Nāgas[19] have indeed left significant numismatic evidence of their regimes.

(*d*) Very often Vākāṭaka inscriptions speak of *sadaṇḍa nigraha kuryyāma*, i.e., inflicting of punishment *together with fine* if the execution of the grant is obstructed. It is not clear whether the fine meant a cash imposition—most probably it did not (see also Appendix VII, fns. 21-22).

Large-scale Mechanism of Land Grants

A viable and meaningful explanation of this characteristic economic phenomenon of the reign of the Vākāṭakas, viz., the absence of money, may be sought in the large scale mechanism of land grants, growth of small village settlements and relative non-urban economy.

Nearly eighty per cent of 36/37 Vākāṭaka inscriptions studied by us[20] are clearly land grants given to brāhmaṇas. While huge cash donations and gifts of cows, elephants, horses, etc., as well as donations of villages with privileges such as *apāvesaṁ anomasa aloṇakhā* (*dakaṁ*) *araṭhasavinayikaṁ*, *savafātaparihhārika/sa-karukaro sa-deyo-meyo* are known from the Sātavāhana inscriptions of the second century of the Christian era,[21] it would not be inappropriate to highlight that the type of complete dissociation between any reference to money and land grants that one notices in Vākāṭaka inscriptions is perhaps a very striking phenomenon. The earliest of such references is to be found in the Basim plates of Vindhyaśakti II of the Vatsgulma branch of the Vākāṭakas, which is ascribed to the last quarter of the fourth century AD. In all, Vākāṭaka grants record donations of 35 villages, of which 20 figure in the 18 or 19 inscriptions of Pravarasena II alone (*c.* AD 420-52).[22] While the Ṛiddhapur plates of Pravarasena II record the grant of a field *together with a house and four huts of farmers*, another inscription of his, viz., the Pauni grant also makes a donation of a village *alongwith the residential quarter* (of farmers) (*sahaniveśanena*). The Hisse-Borala inscription records the construction of lake Sudarśana by *ārya* Svāmilladeva, an executive officer (*ājñākara*) of Vākāṭaka king Devasena for the welfare of all living beings. The grants are invariably given to brāhmaṇas alone and for earning religious merit for the donor and his predecessors. Amongst people to whom these grants are generally addressed are included householders, brāhmaṇas, other residents led by brāhmaṇas (Pattan plates), officials of noble birth employed by orders of *sarvādhyakṣa*,

soldiers, policemen, peasants (*kuṭumbin*) and *grāmamahattara* (led by brāhmaṇas—Ṛiddhapur inscription). At least one grant, the Yavatmal plates of Pravarasena II, is not addressed to state officials but to the village (ll.10-11) (see also Appendix VII, fns. 82 and 115). There are thirteen instances, of which ten come from inscriptions of Pravarasena II, where the measure of land granted is also recorded. The remaining three belong to one inscription (the Thalner copperplates) of post-Pravarasena II period. These donations vary from 20 *nivartanas* to 8000 *nivartanas*[23] by the royal measure (*rājamānika-mānena/ rāyakyamānena/rājamānena/ rājakīyamānena*). The fact that even in the case of a huge grant of 2000 *nivartanas* only four brāhmaṇas are mentioned by name,[24] the fact that again only 49 brāhmaṇas are mentioned by name for a still bigger donation of 8000 *nivartanas*,[25] and the fact that one brāhmaṇa Somārya figures as a donee of more than one village,[26] would perhaps indicate that the pressure on land was not too considerable. One exception was perhaps the grant recorded in the Masod plates of Pravarasena II, where 300 (*nivartanas*) 'lands' was divided in all into 25 house-sites of which two shares were given to one Mahāpuruṣa, who is described as the non-acceptor of donations (*aprati-grāhina*). In addition to Mahāpuruṣa, 19 other donees (some names may be missing?) are mentioned by name. Thus, each donee was a recipient of only 12 *nivartanas* (see also Appendix VII, fn.97). It may be suggested that the cases where measure of donated land is indicated, are perhaps such instances where the responsibility of getting the land cultivated devolves directly on the donee. Since even 25 *nivartanas* of land require more than the family labour, it is very likely that such donations meant the existence of serfs. It is significant to note in this context that one of the villages where 60 *nivartanas* were donated, is named Karmmakāra (Dudia plates). The use of *karmakāra/kammakara* in the sense of hired/wage labourers has been known from the days of Kauṭilya and Pāli texts.[27]

Privileges of Donees

As far as the privileges granted to donees are concerned, the earliest version in Vākāṭaka inscriptions is available in the Basim plates. It states:

> *araṭṭhasaṁvviṇayika, alavaṇakeṇṇakkhanaka, ahiraṇṇadhāṇṇap-paṇayapadeya, apupphakkhiraggahaṇa, aparamparagobalivardda,*

achārasiddhika, achammaṅgālika, abhaḍappāvesa, akhaṭṭācholla-kaveṇesika, akarada, avaha, saṇidhi, sopaṇidhi, sukutuppanta, samañchamahākaraṇa, sāvvajātiparihāraparihitañcha

—the village donated is not to be entered by soldiers and policemen, is exempted from royal prerogative of purchasing fermenting liquors and digging of salt, exempt from obligations to make presents of grain and gold, exempted from the obligation to supply flowers and milk, it does not entitle (the state) to customary cows and bulls (perhaps the right to demand the first calf of cow is referred to here),[28] exempt from obligation to provide grass, hides as seats and charcoal (to touring officials),[29] not to be entered by soldiers, not to provide cots, waterpots and slaves; not to pay taxes, not to provide drought cattle (for the conveyance of touring state officials); the village is donated together with the right to hidden treasures and deposits and together with major and minor taxes,[30] it is given together with the right to platform and large fields, is endowed with immunities of all kinds.

This seems to be the general pattern. These Prakrit forms recur in their Sanskrit forms in most of the land grants of the Vākāṭakas. There are a few additions and variations, e.g.:

(*a*) Right to digging salt does not occur in the Poona plates.

(*b*) The Jamb plates have *klinnaklenīkhanakaḥ* instead of *kiṇvak-reṇikhanakaḥ*.

(*c*) The Poona plates heve an additional exemption—*akhanime-dhyaḥ*—right to mines and *khadira* trees.[31]

(*d*) The Jamb and the Siwani plates add *sarvvaveṣṭi* (*viṣṭi*), i.e., exemption from all kinds of forced labour. It is also mentioned in the Pauni grant of Pravarasena II and the Mahurjhari plates of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II.

(*e*) The Siwani and Patna Museum plates of Pravarasena II mention *sapanchāśatakaḥ*, which is interpreted by Mirashi on the authority of the *Manusmṛti* (VII.30) as "right to levy a tax equal to 1/50th (of the sale price)[32]/"together with the sales tax amounting to one-fiftieth of the sale price."[33] Dr V.K. Ramesh argues that since the term does not occur in the list of privileges, it should be interpreted differently. He suggests that it was generally used for stereotype donations of 25/50 *nivartanas* but did not convey any specific area of donated land.

(*f*) Ṛiddhapur plates speak of *saha-karṣakaniveśanāni cha chat-vāri*, the village is granted together with four huts of cultivators.

The donation of land alongwith the residential quarter (of farmers) is also mentioned in the Pauni grant of Pravarasena II. According to the Yavatmal plates, he is also known to have renewed the grant of some land together with a couple of house-sites (*niveśan-dvayaṁ*) in the village Lāṭakapallī (see also Appendix VII, fn. 81).

(*g*) Some grants such as the Ramtek and Poona plates do not mention *akaradāyi*(*i*).

(*h*) The Siwani plates make an allusion to an additional privilege—*sakoraṭaḥ*, which has not been explained by Professor Mirashi.[34] Could it be derived from Prakrit word *karoḍa*, which means either "coconut" or "bull"[35]? If yes, it could mean either "together with coconut plantation" or "together with rights to bull". Since *aparamparagobalivarddhaḥ* is already mentioned in the inscription (l.28), the first rendering is preferable. However, even this suggestion is not without its limitations. Though an undated record of the Chālukya king Someśvara refers to a place called Nārial (identified with Naral in the Aurangabad dist.)[36], the interior Maharashtra, where most of place-names of the Siwani plates are to be located, is not known to be a coconut producing centre. Dr Ramesh's alternative suggestion, viz., *sakorāṭaḥ* means "alongwith undulating wasteland" also merits careful attention (see also Appendix VII, fn. 56).

It is true that some of the above-mentioned privileges are found in the Sātavāhana and early Pallava inscriptions, but specificities apart, as a general picture it is quite clear that as comprehensive a list as found in inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas is not to be found in records of comparable antiquity. The total number of *parihāras* (exemptions) in Vākāṭaka inscriptions is nearly twenty (for fuller details, see Appendix VII). Also, in a rare example, the Chammak plates of the eighteenth year of Pravarasena II, the obligations of donees are also spelt out. The donees were to enjoy the rights of the grant provided, they did not commit any treason against the kingdom consisting of the *saptāṅgas*, they were not found guilty of the murder of a brāhmaṇa, theft, adultery; they did not wage war and did no harm to other villages (ll.39-44) (see also Appendix II). Vākāṭaka inscriptions also throw interesting light on ownership of land. Though the inscriptions have their usual and formal imprecatory verses and warn people of dire consequences if the execution of grants is obstructed and threat of punishment and fine is also made. However, there are

at least three cases where we find villages being donated in *exchange for donations made previously*, e.g., donation of Dhuvavāṭaka *in exchange* for Vijayapallīvāṭaka (*Vijayapallivāṭakasya prativastu*) in the Pandhurna plates, Śrīparṇakā *in exchange for previously donated* (*pūrvvaparigrahaprativastu*) Māṇapallikā in the Patna Museum plates and grant of 50 *nivartanas* by royal measure *in exchange for* some other lands (*bhūmiprativastu*) (village(s) not named) in the Pauni grant. The Yavatmal plates of Pravarasena II does not record a fresh grant but *renews* an earlier grant of land which was already being enjoyed (*pūrvva-bhujyamānikā bhūmiḥ*, l. 12). These instances would perhaps mean that the king retained full ownership of land.[37] × Right to grant the land First " to revenue

Impact of Land Grants on Economy

How did this large-scale mechanism of land grants affect the overall economic conditions of the realm? At least one result seems to be the burgeoning of rural settlements based on agriculture and animal husbandry.

The Vākāṭakas were one of the most important successors of the Sātavāhanas. It is fairly well known that nearly three centuries of the rule of the Sātavāhanas had seen prolific economic activity, particularly on the front of trade and a general picture of rich and prosperous life is borne out by epigraphic, archaeological and art remains. But the archaeological data unearthed in the last three decades present a different perspective when it comes to the Vākāṭaka phase. Explorations and diggings at numerous sites in the districts outlined above are eloquent on either the decline or the poor character of settlements under the Vākāṭakas. At Bhokardan, for instance, during the 1972-73 excavations, all the five structural phases belonged to the Sātavāhana period, the site "dwindled" after the Sātavāhanas and was reoccupied in the medieval period.[38] Even during the next season excavations, the position did not change materially.[39] Excavations at Arni in the Yavatmal district yielded evidence of three habitational phases, of which the last belonged to the Sātavāhanas and even in this, the last of the three subphases showed signs of degeneration.[40] Other major sites, especially Pauni,[41] Peddabankur,[42] Dhulikatta,[43] Ter,[44] Malhar,[45] and Kahali[46] show a similar pattern. Some other sites where one would expect finds of the Vākāṭakas are: Dhanora, Tekwada, Irle, Kausan, Tripuri, Kaundanpur and Bhamiwara. But the scanty

reports on these sites[47] are not very encouraging. However, in recent years the excavations at Mandhal;[48] Manhurjhari,[49] Ramtek (Nagpur dist.) and Nagara (Bhandara dist.) have indeed yielded significant evidences about the Vākāṭakas. The temples of Kevala Narasiṁha, Varāha, Rudra-Narasiṁha and Bhogaram at Ramtek are particularly illuminating in this context.

If one were to rely on just the archaeological evidence, it would present a very gloomy picture of economy under the Vākāṭakas. However, it is not as gloomy as it appears from this angle. If a careful analysis of the inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas is made, one gets an interesting dimension of settlements in their dominions. Ever since the publication of Mirashi's volume two decades ago, there have been very significant finds of the Vākāṭaka inscriptions, e.g., four Mandhal plates, Mahurjhari plates, Pauni grant, Thalner copperplates, etc. But some of these remain to be edited and published. More than fifty per cent of the Vākāṭaka inscriptions belong to the reign of just one Vākāṭaka king, viz., Pravarasena II (*c.* AD 420-52). All these 36/37 inscriptions have been broadly classified by us into pre-Pravarasena II, Pravarasena II, and post-Pravarasena II periods (see Appendix I). Our present study is based on the place-names in these inscriptions.

In the table below, we have set out, in an alphabetical order, names of 134 villages/settlements which are mentioned in inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas.

S. no.	*Village/Settlement*	*Category*	*Inscription no.*	*Geographical delimitation; identification and remarks*
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Achalapura (*dharmasthāna*)		23	50 *nivartanas* in; Achalpur/ Elichpur in the Amravati dist.
2.	Achchhabhallaka	D	5	south of Fukudumbhaka; east of Babbikā; north of Śaṅkhika and west of Kurudambhaka; *none identified.*
3.	Ajakarṇa		21	south of Dhuvavāṭaka; identified with Ajangaon- about 7 km south by east of Tigaon (Chhindwara dist.).

1	2	3	4	5
4.	Ākāsapadda	D	7	situated near Tākālakkhopaka; identified with Asund, about 12 km west of Takaligohana (about 65 km from Nanded).
5.	Ānarttapura	*bhu.*	34	in the Dhulia dist. of Maharashtra.
6.	Añjanavāṭaka		15	east of the village donated in Indore plates (name missing); identified with Añjanavadi, about 8 km south-east of Kosamba [about 9.5 km south of Tirodi (about 11 km south-east of Katangi in the Balaghat dist. of Madhya Pradesh)].
7.	Aragrāma	D	5	south of Fukudumbhaka; east of Babbikā; north of Saṅkhika and west of Kurudambhaka; *none identified.*
8.	Ārāmaka	R	15	south of village donated in the Indore plates (name missing); *not identified* (see also Appendix VII, fn. 65).
9.	Ārammi (same as Surambi in ins. no. 31)	*rāj.*	16, 21 & 31	identified with present-day Amla, about 65 km north by west of Pandhurna (village Tigaon in Chhindwara dist.).
10.	Asi	*bhu.*	10	identified with Ashti, about 16 km south of Belora.
11.	Aśvatthakheṭaka	D	20	perhaps present-day village Pattan; 400 *nivartanas* donated in.
12.	Aśvatthanagara	D	14	identified with Asatpur in Achalpur tahsil (Amraoti dist.).

1	2	3	4	5
13.	Bābbikā		5	west of Achchhabhallaka, Aragrāma, Selludraha and Suragrāma in the Padmapura Pūrva *mārga*; *not identified*.
14.	Badarīgrāma		21	west of Dhuvavāṭaka; identified with Borgaon, about 3.5 km north of Tigaon (Chhindwara dist.).
15.	Beṇṇākārppara	*bhoga*	13	Beṇṇā (present-day river Wainganga).
16.	Beṇṇākaṭa		17	around Beni, about 56 km east of Kosamba in the Gondia tahsil of Bhandara dist.
17.	Beṇṇāṭaṭa	PI; R	30	
18.	Bhaṭṭikāpadra	D	34	east of Jātikkheṭaka and west of Vaṭālikā.
19.	Bhojakaṭa	*rāj.*	12	identified with Bhatkuli, a village about 13 km from Amraoti.
20.	Bodrakānaka		34	east of Kumāradāsavāṭaka.
21.	Boṇṭhikavāṭaka		8	west of Kothūraka; identified with Bothad.
22.	Brāhmaṇavāṭaka		21	*not identified* but its western boundary bounded Dhuvavāṭaka.
23.	Brahmapūraka	D	13	north of Vaṭapūraka; west of Kiṇihikheṭaka; south of Pravarajjavāṭaka; east of Kollapūraka, also the adjoining village was Karañjaviraka identified with Bahmni, about 5 km from Kāranjā (9.5 km from Amgaon).
24.	Brahmapūraka		24	west of Śriparṇakā; identified with Bahmani, about 20 km north by west of Balaghat.
25.	Chhabbilānaka		34	west of Kumāradāsavāṭaka.
26.	Chandrapura	*saṁgamkiā*	16	identified with Chanda in the Chanda dist.

1	2	3	4	5
27.	Chandrapura	R	17	identified with Chandpur, about 20 km south-east of Kosamba (9.5 km to the north-east of Tirodi which is about 13 km south-east of Katangi in the Balaghat district of Madhya Pradesh).
28.	Charmmāṅka	D	12	identified with Chammak, 6.5 km south-west of Achalpur in Amraoti dist.
29.	Chikkambu (ri)		1	temple at; identified with adjoining village Chikmara.
30.	Chiñchāpallī		8	south of Kothūraka; identified with Chicholi on right bank of the Wunna—about one km to south of Mangaon.
31.	Daṅguṇa	D	6	identified with Hinganaghat (on river Wunna): east of Vilavaṇaka; west of Kadāpiñjana; north of Sidivivaraka and south of Śīrṣagrāma.
32.	Darbhamalaka	D	16	25 *nivartanas* in; *not identified* but see also Ārammi, Chandrapura *saṁgamikā* and Hiraṇyapura.
33.	Darbhapatha		21	East of Dhuvavāṭaka; *not identified.*
34.	Darbhaviraka		24	north of Śrīparṇakā: *not identified.*
35.	Dhuvavāṭaka	D	21	see Vāruchchha; 2000 *nivartanas* donated in; *not identified* but donated land lies in low ground by western boundary of village Brāhmaṇavāṭaka; to the north of the way to Ajakarṇa, east of Badarīgrāma and west of Darbhapatha.
36.	Dīrghadraha	D	10	identified with Dighi on left bank of Wardha—about 50 km south of

1	2	3	4	5
				Ashti (16 km south of Belora).
37.	Ekārjunaka	R	18	identified with Arjunika on left bank of Erai, about 25 km north-east of Warora tahsil.
38.	Fukudumbhaka		5	north of Achchhabhallaka, Aragrāma, Selludraha and Suragrāma in the Padmapura Pūrva *mārga*; *not identified.*
39.	Gepūraka	*mārga*	15	*not identified.*
40.	Govvasāhika		29	south of Kuruvajjaka/ Kurubheñjñaka; identified with three villages in the Bhandara dist. viz., Goṣī Khurda, Goṣi Budruka and Baserā—all on the east of Wainganga.
41.	Govvasāhika	D	30	see just above.
42.	Govachchhetaṭī-grāma	D	34	20½ *nivartanas* in; situated in the Ānarttapura *bhukti.*
43.	Gṛidhragrāma		18	west of Velusuka; identified with Gadeghat, about 12 km to the west of Chinchamandala (see also Velusuka).
44.	Hiraṇyā	camp at	18	river identified with Erai in the Warora tahsil.
45.	Hiraṇyapura	*bhoga*	16	on the bank of the Hiraṇyā (modern Erai).
46.	Iṣṭākapalli		29	identified with Intagaon in Bhandara dist. on the eastern bank of Waingaanga. North of Kuruvajjaka/Kurubheñjñaka.
47.	Jalakutkubhaka		31	south of Jamalakheṭaka in the Savner taluka of the Nagpur dist.
48.	Jamalakheṭaka	D	31	region round Savner, a taluka in Nagpur; to the east of Nandipūraka; west of Somadaryya; north of Jalakutkubhaka and south of Ubbhilaka.

1	2	3	4	5
49.	Jamalakheṭaka	*mārga*	31	identified with Jamalpani, about 4 km to the north-east of Khapa in the Savner taluka of Nagpur dist.
50.	Jamali		17	identified with Jamuntola, about 5 km to the east of Kosamba (about 10 km to north east of Tirodi, which is about 13 km south-east of Katangi in the Balaghat dist. of Madhya Pradesh). See also Kośambakhaṇḍa below.
51.	Jātikkheṭaka		34	west of Bhaṭṭikāpadra.
52.	Kadambasaraka		18	north of Velusuka; identified with Kosara, about 4 km north of Chinchamandala (see also Velusuka).
53.	Kadāpiñjana		6	east of Daṅguṇa; identified with Kadhajan, about 5 km to the south by east of Hinganghat.
54.	Kāllāra	R	21	identified with Kherli, about 20 km north of Multai (see also Lekhapallikā).
55.	Kāṁsakārakā-grāma	D	34	$20\frac{1}{2}$ *nivartanas* in; situated in the Ānarttapura *bhukti*.
56.	Karañjaviraka		13	adjoining Brahmapūraka; identified with Karanja, about 10 km from Amgaon.
57.	Karmmakāra	D	16	60 *nivartanas* in; villlage *not identified* but see Ārammi, Chandrapura *saṁgamikā* and Hiraṇyapura.
58.	Kiṇihikheṭaka		13	east of Brahmapūraka.
59.	Kobidārikā		15	west of village donated in the Indore plates (name missing —see also Appendix VII. fn. 65); identified with Kumargaon, about

1	2	3	4	5
				6.5 km south by west of Kosamba (see also Añjanavāṭaka).
60.	Kokilāra		18	south of Velusuka; identified with Khairi, about 6.5 km to the north-west of Chinchamandala (see also Velusuka).
61.	Kollapūraka		13	west of Brahmapūraka; identified with Kulpa, about 8 km to the west of Bahmni.
62.	Kośambaka		15	north of village donated in the Indore plates (name missing) (see also Appendix VII, f[illegible]. 65); identified with Koasmbakhaṇḍa (see also Añjanavāṭaka).
63.	Kośambakhaṇḍa	D	17	Jamalī in east (Jamuntola); about 5 km to the east of Kosamba; Vardhamānaka in the south; village Mṛigasima in the west; village Mallakapedhaka in north; identified with Kosamba (see details under Añjanavāṭaka).
64.	Kośika	*mārga*	14	*not identified.*
65.	Kothuraka	D	8	west of river Umā; north of Chiñchāpalli; east of Boṇṭhikavāṭaka; south of Maṇḍukigrāma; identified with Mangaon on right bank of the Wunna about 4 km north by west of Jamb.
66.	Kṛṣṇāleśālikaṭaka		23	
67.	Kumāradāsavāṭaka	D	34	west of Bodrakānaka; east of Chhabbilānaka; in the Vaṁśīvāhalī on the south bank of the Mayasinī river.
68.	Kurudambhaka		5	east of Achchhabhallaka, Aragrāma, Selludraha and Suragrāma in the

1	2	3	4	5
				Padmapura Pūrva *mārga*; *not identified.*
69.	Kuruvajjaka *or* Kurubheñjñaka	D	29, 30	identified with Kurjjha in the Bhandara dist.
70.	Lāṭakapallī	D	19	in the administrative unit Ṣaḍgṛṣaka (*not identified*). Village identified with Ladkhed, about 32 km east of Darwha on the Darwha-Yavatmal Road in the Yavatmal dist.
71.	Lavaṇatailaka		29	identified with Lonara in the Bhandara dist., east of the Wainganga and west of Kuruvajjaka/ Kurubheñjñaka.
72.	Lekhapallikā	D	21	25 *nivartanas* in; a village in the Ārammi *rājya* (S. no. 9) and identified with Lakhapur near Chiravali on the Multai Chhindwara road.
73.	Lohanagara	*bhoga*	20	identified with Loni, about 15 km south-west of Warud (cf. Varadākheṭa below).
74.	Madhukajjhari		24	south of Śrīparṇṇakā; identified with Murjhar— about 3.5 km north by east of Bahmani (see also S. no. 23).
75.	Mahalla-Lāṭa or Mahallama-Lāṭa	D	9, 10	"larger-Lāṭa" = Ladki in Morsi taluka of Amraoti dist. about 30 km north by west of Belora (village in Arvi tahsil of the Wardha dist. on the left bank of the Wardha, about 10 km south by east of Morsi).
76.	Mallakapedhaka		17	Kośambakhaṇḍa on its south; *not identified* (but see also Añjanavāṭaka).
77.	Māṇapallikā		24	*not identified* but in the

1	2	3	4	5
				Yaśapura *mārga* (see also Yaśapura).
78.	Maṇḍukigrāma		8	north of Kothuraka; identified with Mandagaon—about 5.5 km to the north by west and about 3.5 km to the north respectively from Mandagaon.
79.	Matsakadraha		22	perhaps Masod.
80.	Millukadratha		24	east of Śrīparṇṇakā; *not identified.*
81.	Mṁayasagrāma	D	11	identified with Mandhal.
82.	Mṛigasima		17	Koaśmbakhaṇḍa (see Añjanavāṭaka) on its east; *not identified.*
83.	Nāndīkaḍa	*mārga*	7	identified with Nanded (south Berar and northern parts of the former Hyderabad State).
84.	Nāndīpuraka		31	west of Jamalakheṭaka; in Savner taluka of the Nagpur dist.
85.	Nandıvardhanā	PI	6, 8, 9	identified with Nandardhan or Nagardhan near Ramtek.
86.	Nāṅgarakaṭaka		32	probably denoted a territorial division corresponding to a modern dist.
87.	Narattaṅgavāri	PI	17	probably a *tirtha.*
88.	Nīlīgrāma		18	east of Velusuka; identified with Nilajai, about 8 km to the east of Chinchamandala (see also Velusuka).
89.	Padmapura	PI	27	near Amgaon in the Bhandara dist.
90.	Padmapura (apara)	*mārga*	22	*unidentified.*
91.	Padmapura (pūrva)	*mārga*	5	*unidentified.*
92.	Pākkaṇṇa	*rāṣṭra*	10	*unidentified.*
93.	Pravarajjavāṭaka		13	north of Brahmapūraka; identified with Paraswada near Bahmni.
94.	Piḍerika		30	*unidentified.*
95.	Pravarapura	PI	11, 12, 16, 20, 22, 23	perhaps Paunar, about 10 km from Wardha.

1	2	3	4	5
96.	Pravareśvara	R	9. 10	probably in the Wardha dist.
97.	Pravareśvara		21	temple of; probably in the Wardha dist.
98.	Pṛithivīsamudra	PI	31	*unidentified.*
99.	Rāmagiri	PI	14	identified with Ramtek, about 45 km north of Nagpur.
100.	Rāmagiri	PI (camp at) administrative unit	29	same as above
101.	Ṣaḍgṛśaka		19	donated village Lāṭakapalli situated here; the unit is *unidentified.*
102.	Ṣaḍviṁśativāṭaka	R	9, 10	chief village in a group of 26 villages.
103.	Śailapura	*mārga*	10	identified with Salbardi—about 25 km east of Ladki.
104.	Saṅgaṁikā	D	21	25 *nivartanas* in; in the Ārammi *rājya* (see S. no. 9); identified with Saṅgama near the confluence of the Kanhan and Bel.
105.	Śaṅkhika		5	south Achchhabhallaka, Aragrāma, Selludraha and Suragrāma in the Padmapura Pūrva *mārga*; *not identified.*
106.	Selludraha	D	5	south of Fukudambhaka; east of Bābbikā; north of Śaṅkhika and west of Kurudambhaka; *none identified.*
107.	Sidivivaraka		6	south of Daṅguṇa.
108	Śirṣagrāma		6	north of Daṅguṇa.
109.	Somadaryyā		31	east of Jamalakheṭaka in Savner taluka of the Nagpur dist.
110	Śrīparṇṇakā	D	24	east of Brahmapūraka; west of Millukadratha; north of Madhukajjhari and south of Darbhaviraka; situated in *mārga* Sundhāti; *unidentified.*
111.	Śulkavaṭa		30	identified with Kosara.

1	2	3	4	5
112.	Sundhāti	*mārga*	24	village Śrīparṇakā in; *not identified.*
113.	Supratiṣṭha	*āhāra*	6, 8 18	comprised parts of Hinganghat, Warora and Yavatmal tahsils of Wardha, Chanda and Yavatmal districts respectively (see also Appendix IV).
114.	Suragrāma	D	5	east of Bābbikā; west of Kurudambhaka; north of Śaṅkhika and south of Fukudambhaka; *none identified.*
115.	Suvarṇakāragrāma	D	34	20 ½ *nivartanas* in; situated in the Ānarttapura *bhukti*.
116.	Tākālakkhopaka		7	near Ākāsapadda; identified with Takaligohana or Takali, about 65 and 73 km respectively from Nanded.
117.	Ubbhilaka		31	north of Jamalakheṭaka; in Savner taluka of the Nagpur dist.
118.	Uttarapaṭṭa		29, 30	*unidentified.*
119.	Vaṁśīvāhalī		34	On the south bank of the Mayasinl river.
120.	Varadākheṭa	*mārga*	20	idcntified with Warud in Morsi tahsil in the Amraoti dist., about 20 km south of Pattan.
121.	Vardhamānaka		17	Kośambakhaṇḍa in its north; *not identified.*
122.	Vāruchcha	*rāj.*	21	identified with Varegaon, about 7 km west of Pandhurna (Tigaon in the Chhindwara dist.).
123.	Vaṭālikā		34	east of Bhaṭṭkiāpadra.
124.	Vaṭapūraka		13	south of Brahmapūraka; identified with Badgaon near Bahmni.
125.	Vatsagulmā *or* Vātsyagulma	PI	7, 32	identified with Basim (the headquarter of Basim tahsil of the Akola dist.).
126.	Velusuka	D	18	400 *nivartanas* donated in; east of Gṛidhragrāma;

1	2	3	4	5
				west of Nilīgrāma; north of Kollapūraka and south of Kadambasaraka; identified with Chinchamandala about 8 km south of Wadgaon and south of elbow of the Wunna river.
127.	Vembāra	camp at	28	identified with Bembal, about 45 km east of Chanda and 3.5 km west of the Wainganga.
128.	Vijayapallīvāṭaka		21	may be Bijagora on the left bank of the Kanhan.
129.	Vilavaṇaka		6	West of Daṅguṇa; identified with Vani.
130.	Yappajja	D(?)	32	*not indentified.*
131.	Yaśapura	*mārga*	24	Village Māṇapallikā in.
132.	*missing name*	D	15	details not available (see also Appendix VII, fn. 65).
133.	*missing name*	D	22	north-west/west of Matsakadraha in the low lying area of the river Rāja-tiṇika situated in the *apara-mārga* of Padmapura.
134.	*missing name*	D	23	50 *nivartanas* donated in.

Note: (a) *The abbreviations used to denote category of settlement in the third column of this table are*:

bhu. : *bhukti*; D: donated village; PI: place of issue; R: residence of donee *rāj.* : *rājya.*

(b) For reference to inscription nos, in the fourth column of this table, see Appendix 1.

Burgeoning of Small Rural Settlements and Relative non-Urban Economy

It is very significant that the Vākāṭaka inscriptions are very often (almost eighty per cent) concerned with land grants and in the process, have not only mentioned villages donated, but also numerous other settlements to define the geographical boundaries of these donations. Most of these settlements can be classified into twelve categories, such as *āhāras*, *bhogas*, *bhuktis*, camps (military), *mārgas* places of issue of grants, residence of donees, etc. (see Appendix III). There are only eleven settlements,[50] which figure in more than

one inscription but there are still fewer settlements, which are mentioned throughout the duration of the Vākāṭakas—Vatsagulma/ Vātsyagulma is the only place which is mentioned in both pre-Pravarasena II and post-Pravarasena II inscriptions. Ārammi/ Surambī *rājya* is mentioned in both Pravarasena II and post-Pravarasena II period, while Supratiṣṭha *āhāra* figures only up to Pravarasena II period. Though it is mentioned in the Pre-Pravarasena II period, it is absent in the post-Pravarasena II period inscriptions. In practically all the categories of settlements, the reign of Pravarasena II stands out prominently. Out of a total of 35 villages donated by the Vākāṭakas, 20 donations were made by Pravarasena II. We have six place-names as residence of donees, all mentioned in the inscriptions of Pravarasena II. Similarly, all the three *bhogas*, all the three *rājyas* and the single known *rāṣṭra* and *saṁgamikā* have to be attributed to the long reign of this king. In all, of the 134 listed settlements, 83 are to be found in the inscriptions of Paravarasena II. As the full details of some of the land grants of Pravarasena II are not available, these figures will have to be revised later.

A linguistic analysis of the place-names also helps us to infer interesting facets of settlements under the Vākāṭakas. There are very few settlements (16 in all), which can be taken to be some sort of urban settlements—the basis of this assessment being the use of suffixes such *pura*, *pūraka* and *nagara*, though it was once suggested that even the word *nagara* was a derivate of Sanskrit word *laṅgala*, meaning a "plough" and that it originally meant a settlement thriving on agricultural activities.[51] The settlements having semblance of urban connotations are: Achalapura, Aśvatthanagara, Brahmapūraka (mentioned twice, in inscriptions 13 and 24), Chandrapura (also mentioned twice, in inscriptions 16 and 17), Gepūraka. Hiraṇyapura, Kollapūraka, Lohanagara, Nandipūraka, Padmapura, Pravarapura, Śailapura, Vaṭapūraka and Yaśapura.

In contrast to the suffixes denoting urban settlements, suffixes clearly denoting varieties of rural settlements are too numerous. Some of these may be mentioned in detail. In the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* and other Jain canonical texts,'*pallī*' is used as village of wild tribes. *Kheṭa* or *kheṭaka*, perhaps a derivative from *kṣetra* ("field") also denotes a small village. As early as the days of Pāṇini, *kheṭa* is mentioned in the sense of a small village establishment. It has

also been suggested that the original meaning of *kheṭaka* or *kheṭa* was an enclosure into which cattle were driven. Gradually, the pastoral camp grew into an agricultural village.[52] Suffixes such as *vaṭa, vāṭaka, vāṭikā* seem to have been derived from the root *vṛt*, which indicates enclosure of a village consisting of boundary of trees.[53] Similarly, *grāma, pātaka, padda, kaṭa*, etc., are also suffixes which signify, in one form or another, a small village settlement. Instances of settlements with such suffixes are too numerous in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions. Mention, however, may be made of at least Chinchāpallī, Iṣṭākapalli, Lāṭakapallī, Lekhapallikā, Māṇapallikā, Añjanavāṭaka, Aśvatthakheṭaka, Beṇṇakaṭa, Bhojakaṭa, Brāhmaṇavāṭaka, Dhuvavāṭaka Jamālakheṭaka, Kiṇihikheṭaka, Kumāradāsavāṭaka Nāṅgarakaṭaka, Ākāsapadda, Aragrāma, Gṛidhragrāma, Kāṁsakārakagrāma, Maṇḍukigrāma, Nāndīkaḍa, etc. We must also take cognizance of settlements with pronounced references to flora, e.g., settlements named after medicinal plants (Añjanavāṭaka, Karañjaviraka) or with reference to grassy patches (Darbhamalaka, Darbhapatha and Darbhviraka) and trees, etc. (Aśvatthakheṭaka, Badarīgrāma—badari=jujube, Vaṭālikā, Karañjaviraka (Karañja), Vilavaṇaka (Bilva), Chikkamburi—Chikkenna=betelnut tree, Chinchāpalli—chinca=tamarind, Ekārjunaka—name of a tree as well, Kadambasaraka, Kobidārikā—one of the trees of paradise, say the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Lalitavistara*; Māṇapallikā—mana=a specie of a plant: *Arum Indicum* and Velusuka referring to bamboo). We have also got a Nīlīgrāma, where perhaps indigo plantation may have been predominant. Kṛṣṇāleśālikaṭaka, most probably derived its name from the cultivation of black transplanted paddy (perhaps because of its cultivation on the black soil of the region). A recent study has shown the preponderance of numerous place-names with *vaḍa/vaṭa* and other prefixes signifying banyan tree, in the Amraoti, Bhandara, Buldana, Nanded and Parbhani districts of Maharashtra. All these districts except Bhandara, as we have already seen, formed part of the western half of the Vākāṭaka dominion. Further, this study which is based on inscriptions of the first millennium of the Christian era and found in Maharashtra, highlights, "a large part of Maharashtra in ancient times was covered either with natural groves or deliberately prepared gardens and plantations."[54]

Rattern of Settlements

The cartographic plotting of *donated villages* in the Vākāṭaka land grants also reveals an interesting pattern. Of the six donations of pre-Pravarasena II period, five (Achchhabhallaka, Ākāsapadda, Aragrāma, Selludraha and Suragrāma) are in the area ranging between 300 and 600 metres in altitude and only one, viz., Daṅguṇa is in the relatively plain area—in the Wardha system. All except one (Ākāsapadda) are in the eastern half of the Vākāṭaka dominions and 4/6) Achchhabhallaka, Aragrāma, Selludraha and Suragrāma) are concentrated in the Maikala ranges. In the succeeding Pravarasena II phase, one notices not only a drive towards the plains but a westward expansion as well. Out of a total of 20 villages donated by Pravarasena II, as many as eleven (Brahmapūraka, Darbhamalaka, Dīrghadraha, Karmmakāra, Kośambakhaṇḍa, Kothuraka, Mṁyasagrāma, Śrīparṇṇakā, Velusuka, two missing villages in the Indore and Masod plates) are situated in lands below 300 metres in altitude and the remaining nine (Aśvatthakheṭaka, Aśvatthanagara, Charmāṅka, Dhuvavāṭaka, Lāṭakapallī, Lekhapallikā, Mahalla-Lāṭa, Saṁgamikā and the missing village of the Pauni grant) in area ranging between 300 and 600 metres. The Wardha and the Wainganga systems account for as many as fifteen of these donations Unlike the pre-Pravarasena II phase, there are at least 25 per cent donations of Pravarasena himself (5/20: Aśvatthanagara, Charmāṅka, Lāṭakapallī, Mahalla-Lāṭa and the missing village of the Pauni grant), which are to be located in the western half. Incidentally, four of these five western settlements (except Mahalla-Lāṭa) were donated in the second half of king's reign, i.e., after the sixteenth year (Pravarasena II's total reign lasted for at least 32 years). In the post-Pravarasena II phase, there seems to be a further accent on settling the western half and particularly the Tapti valley. Six of the nine donations of this phase (Bhaṭṭikāpadra, Govachchhetaṭīgrāma, Kāṁsakārakagrāma, Kumāradāsavāṭaka, Suvarṇakāragrāma and Yappajja) are to be located in this area—away from the Wainganga-Wardha valleys. At least 4/6 settlements of the western half are in the plains watered by the Tapti system (Bhaṭṭikāpadra, Govachchhetaṭīgrāma, Kāṁsakārakagrāma and Suvarṇakāragrāma). Only 3/9 donated villages of the post-Pravarasena II phase range between 300 and 600 metres in altitude—these being Jamalakheṭaka, Kumāradāsavāṭaka and Yappajja, and only three of these

nine donations (Govvasāhika, Jamalakheṭaka and Kuruvajjaka/Kurubheñjñaka) belong tc the main branch of the Vākāṭakas, while the remaining six were made by the Vatsagulma branch. Hariṣeṇa alone accounts for five of these, viz., Bhaṭṭikāpadra, Govachchhetaṭīgrāma, Kāṁskārakagrāma, Kumāradāsavāṭaka and Suvarṇakāragrāma. All these were granted by a single grant, i.e., the Thalner plates. The sixth village donated by the Vatsagulma branch was Yappajja—it was donated by Devasena in his India Office plates.

In view of the above linguistic analysis of place-names given in the table and the distribution pattern of donated villages, it would be obvious that a great majority of settlements mentioned in the Vākāṭaka—inscriptions fall under the category of rural settlements. It would perhaps not be wrong to assume, at least in the present state of our knowledge, that some of these settlements came up for the first time under the Vākāṭakas in general and Pravarasena II in particular. We could perhaps even postulate burgeoning of rural settlements in parts of central India and the northern Deccan during the two centuries of the Vākāṭaka rule.

Agents of the New Socio-economic Transformation

The type of privileges granted to donees of the Vākāṭaka land grants imply that even if the grant was made in hitherto cultivated land (it has been mentioned in such specific terms perhaps only once in the Yavatmal plates of Pravarasena II), care was taken to preserve the resources necessary for agricultural operations and the fullest possible access to these resources was given to donees. Apart from the construction of lake Sudarśana referred to in the Hisse-Borala inscription, there are certain other evidences, which may be taken as indicators of irrigational facilities provided for by the Vākāṭakas. The circumstantial evidence of the Ganj stone inscription of Vyāghradeva suggests that it was engraved on the walls of a dam.[55] Also, the suffix *viraka* means barrage/irrigational dam,[56] and, therefore, places such as Darbhaviraka (Patna Museum plates), Karañjaviraka (Siwani plates) and Sidiviviraka (Ponna plates) may also suggest that enough care was taken to provide necessary infrastructure for agricultural operations. One may infer that all this could not but help in the economic viability of small village settlements.

Who were the agents of this transformation? We see this problem in the light of the process of Sanskritisation of tribal areas,

the thrust for which came mainly from the Guptas. Samudra Gupta in his Allahabad *praśasti* is known to have made all *āṭavikarājyas* (forest kingdoms) his servants, and some other inscriptions, such as the Khoh copperplate inscription of Saṃkṣobha (Gupta Era 209=(AD 529) and the Kanas plate of Lokavigraha make mention of *sāṣṭādaśāṭavīrājya* (18 forest kingdoms) which are generally placed in central India[57]—not far from the territories of the Vākāṭakas. In fact, these may have included some regions which were part of the Vākāṭaka dominion. It is more than probable that the Vākāṭakas were, to begin with, untouched by Sanskritic culture of the northern plains. Some of the Puranic legends about the beginnings of the Vākāṭakas are quite revealing, e.g., king of Vidarbha *stealing* wife of others. These are traits of tribal origins. Some of the names of donees of Vākāṭaka land grants also enable us to trace the process of Sanskritisation of the tribal areas, e.g., the donee of the Indore plates is Goṇḍārya—the Gonds still constitute an important element of tribal population in the Vidarbha region. One can perhaps also suggest that settlements such as Ajakarṇa (Pandhurna plates), Gṛidhragrāma (Wadgaon plates), Maṇḍukigrāma (Jamb plates) and Mṛigasima (Tirodi plates) had some totemistic origins. Traces of tribalism are also noticeable in place-names such as Kollapūraka (Siwani plates) and Millukadratha (Patna Museum plates), which were perhaps inhabited by the Kols and the Bhils. At a recently concluded seminar on "Recent Trends in the Study of Socio-Economic History of India" held at the University of Jabalpur (27 February-1 March 1986), Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri presented a paper entitled 'Socio-economic Significance of Place-names in Vākāṭaka Inscriptions', wherein he hinted at the growing brahmanic settlements in the dominions of the Vākāṭakas. Particular mention was made in this connection to Brahmapūraka (Siwani and Patna Museum plates) and Brāhmaṇavāṭaka (Pandhurna plates). Another interesting feature consists of migration of people from western, northern and north-western India, for which support was derived from the settlements such as Pākaṇṇa *rāṣṭra* (Belora plates 'B'), Ānarttapura *bhukti* (Thalner plates), Lāṭakapallī (Yavatmal plates), Kuruvajjaka (Mandhal plates 'A' of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II) and Kurudambhaka (Mandhal plates of Rudrasena II). Pākaṇṇa was taken by Professor Shastri to be a derivative and prakritised form of Prakaṇva mentioned by Pāṇini (VI.1.153) and taken by V.S. Agrawala as a country of north-western India beyond Kam-

boja.[51] The Jaina works such as *Prajñāpanā*, *Sūtrakṛtāṅgavṛtti* (Śīlāṅka's), *Bhagavatī Sūtra* and *Bhagavatī-vṛtti* (Abhayadeva's) refer to Pākaṇṇa as an *aṇāriya* (non-Aryan) country, for which alternative names of Pukkhala (Puṣkala) and Vokkāṇa are also given. Incidentally, the *Prajñāpanā* uses the word *aṇāriya* as a synonym of *milikkhu*. Couldn't, therefore, Millukadratha mentioned above, also mean a settlement of non-Aryans? Ānarttapura and Lāṭakapallī, would suggest migration from the Saurashtra-Kathiawar region while Kuruvajjaka and Kurudambhaka easily remind us of the land of the Kurus.

In this context of Sanskritisation, it may be emphasized that one of the earliest Vākāṭaka inscriptions, the Basim plates, refer to the privileges of donees in Prakrit. When, therefore, Professor Mirashi regards the third of the Pandhurna plates as spurious on the ground that its language contains Prakrit words and affixes,[52] it becomes quite intriguing (see also Appendix VII, fns. 87-88). Incidentally, this particular portion is concerned with the most valuable information that the grant has to offer, viz., quantum of the donation. In ancient Indian literature, the connotation of a tribe is very often linked up with frontier people and the notion of the frontier itself has varied according to the changing notions of the *āryāvarta* and *madhyadeśa*. The Vākāṭakas would, in all probability, fall outside these hallowed regions, and therefore, their territory would be very congenial for Sanskritisation. Perhaps a detailed analysis of numerous *gotras* of donees mentioned in Vākāṭaka inscriptions could throw more light on the problem of agents and direction of the above-mentioned economic transformation. But the matrimonial alliance between the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas, immortalized in the Poona *praśasti*, should not be overlooked.

Matrix of the Earliest Tendencies of Feudal Beginnings

With reference to the pattern of settlements under the Vākāṭakas, we have mentioned the comparative rarity of urban settlements. We may emphasize that this relative decline is being mentioned not only in relation to the pre-Vākāṭaka phase, i.e., the period of the Sātavāhanas, but also in relation to the rural settlements of the Vākāṭaka phase itself. The rural-urban nexus, we think, hinges on the role of trade. It is well known that the growth of a large number of Buddhist centres in western and central India was intimately linked up with the growth of trade and patronage extended to them by

traders and merchants. Sātavāhana inscriptions are an eloquent testimony to this. As far as the Vākāṭakas are concerned, we do have three inscriptions[60] of the ministers and feudatories of the Vatsagulma branch, which tell us about donations to the Master and the Buddhist saṃgha. But as far as the main branch and the Vatsagulma branch inscriptions are concerned, we read only one merchant (*vāṇijaka*) named Chandra, who purchased half of *vāṭaka* (village) and donated it to brāhmaṇas.[61] On the basis of dress and ornaments in the Ajanta paintings, Mirashi wrote, "merchants . . . generally appear without jewellery on their person."[62] Does this indicate a decline in their prosperity and perhaps status as well? Of course, we do not intend to postulate complete absence of trade and industry. The donated village of Charmāṅka (Chammak plates) perhaps indicates a settlement of leather workers. Similarly, the donated villages named Kāṃsakāraka and Suvarṇakāra, both in the Thalner copperplates, may be seen as settlements of bronze workers and goldsmiths respectively. The Pattan plates were engraved by a goldsmith called Iśvaradatta. Settlements such as Kāllāra (Pandhurna plates) and Madhukajjhari (Patna museum plates) could be centres of distillers. Iṣṭākapallī (Mandhal plates 'A' of the year 2 of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II) may have been the production centre of bricks. Similarly, place-names such as Hiraṇyapura (Dudia plates), Lavaṇatailaka (Mandhal plates 'A' of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II) and Lohanagara (Pattan plates) are again indicative of artisanal settlements or noted for economic/commercial products. If one looks at the distribution pattern of land grants, one notices that very few) (12/35 donated villages) belong to the western half (with 78° eastern longitude as the dividing line) of the Vākāṭaka dominion. May be, the Vatsagulma branch was the inheritor of economy with deeper trade links while the main branch at Nandivardhanā had greater necessity of giving agrarian orientation to the economy. The relative decline of urban centres is attested to by the archaeological findings and has already been referred to above.[63] In this context, the history of the great Hīnayāna Buddhist stūpa at Pauni is particularly revealing. The excavations at the site show remarkable prosperity of the establishment from the Mauryan age to that of the Sātavāhanas. Numerous inscriptions found at the site emphasize the support extended to it by non-royalty, predominantly consisting of traders, merchants, goldsmiths, etc.[64] But the excavators are quite emphatic in pointing

out, "it is . . . certain that the monument had fallen in disuse by about the third century AD and went into oblivion afterwards, not to be noticed or referred to in subsequent times and accounts."[65] This is the story of not only the phase II of the main stūpa complex at the site, viz., the Jagannātha Ṭekḍī but of the other major complex as well. Writing about the stūpa complex at the Chaṇḍakāpur Ṭekḍī at Pauni, the excavators note, "the Chāṇḍakāpur stūpa may be conveniently put to the time bracket of *circa* first century BC to second century AD. It is also likely that the stūpa possibly formed either a later subsidiary to the *mahā-stūpa* of Jagannātha Ṭekḍī or was erected in later phases of the latter when it was damaged and/or attained a state beyond renovation. Thus, the Chāṇḍkāpur stūpa seems to belong to phase III of Jagannātha stūpa."[66] We are inclined to think that the fate of Pauni after the third century AD symbolises the relative decline of trade and traders in Vidarbha. This may have given an additional impetus to the growth of rural settlements.

To sum up, the two centuries of the Vākāṭaka rule in parts of central India and the northern Deccan, with its non-monetary, small-scale village and relatively declining urban economy presented a milieu in which the beginnings of feudalism must have found their roots. While tracing the genesis of this new socio-economic change, one should go beyond the periphery of the northern plains of India, to the tribal belts of central and the northern Deccan, to the territories of the Vākāṭakas. As an intermediary between the northern plains and the far south, their domain perhaps became a matrix of the earliest and articulated tendencies of feudal beginnings.

References

[1]R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, chap. 1.

[2]*CII*, V, pp. xliv-lii.

[3]Translated into Hindi by Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri under the title *Vākāṭaka Rājavaṁsha kā Itihās tathā Abhilekha*, chap. 3.

[4]*CII*, V, p. xiv; on the so-called Vākāṭaka coins cf. A.S. Altekar, 'Some Alleged Nāga and Vākāṭaka Coins,' *JNSI.* V, p. 111f. Professor Mirashi has repeated his claim in his *Indological Research Papers*, I, p. 84.

[5]I.K. Sarma, *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire*, p. 37f.

[6]M.G. Dixit, *Excavations at Kauṇḍinyapura.*

[7]S.B. Deo and Jagatpati Joshi, *Pauni Excavations 1969-70*, pp. 31, 33, 96, and 99.

[8]I.K. Sarma, op. cit., p. 34f; Balchandra Jain, *Inventory of the Hoards and Finds of Coins and Seals from Madhya Pradesh*, pp. 7-9.

[9]Balchandra Jain, op. cit., pp. 9-11; Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, *Coin-Hoards from Maharashtra*.

[10]*IAR, 1972-3*, p. 553.

[11]Balchandra Jain, op. cit., pp. 11-14; M.G. Dixit, *Introduction to Archaeological Remains in Madhya Pradesh—Madhya Pradesh ke Purātattva kī Rūparekhā*, p. 13f.

[12]At an All India Seminar on the "Age of the Vākāṭakas" held at Nagpur in January 1984, Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri announced that some "Vākāṭaka coins" have been found near Nagpur. This has to be viewed with caution. First, these coins have not yet been published and were not even displayed at the exhibition on Vākāṭaka antiquities organized for the Seminar. Second, even according to the claims being put forward, the earliest of the so-called Vākāṭaka coins are attributed to Narendrasena, who did not assume power at least till *c.* AD 450. This would mean that even if the claim is accepted, there were no coins for at least 150 years (out of a total of 200 years) of the Vākāṭaka rule. Most of the land grant inscriptions belong to this phase of the Vākāṭakas. Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri has promised to publish the so-called Vākāṭaka coins, cf. *JESI*, XII, 1985,p. 58, fn. 20. We are looking forward to it.

[13]S.B. Deo and Jagatpati Joshi, op. cit., p. 34.

[14]*IAR, 1957-8*, p. 23; *1967-8*, p. 35; *1968-9*, pp. 14-7; *1971-2*, pp. 2-3; *1972-3*, pp. 21-2; *1973-4*, p. 20; *1974-5*, p. 3; *1975-6*, p. 2; *1976-7*, p. 4; *1977-8*, pp 30-31; *1978-9*, pp. 16, 71-2; S.B. Deo and Jagatpati Joshi, op. cit., passim.

[15]R. Subrahmanyam, *A Catalogue of the Ikshvaku Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*.

[16]E.J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the 'Bodhi' Dynasty*, pp. clviii ff.

[17]M. Rama Rao, *Vishnukundin Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*; S. Sankaranarayanan, *Viṣṇukuṇḍins and Their Times*; 262 copper coins, including coins of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins have been reported from the Huzurnagar taluka, Karimnagar dist. cf. *IAR, 1978-9*, p. 89.

[18]The Edenga Hoard, cf. *JNSI*, I, p. 29f.

[19]H.V. Trivedi, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Nāga Kings of Padmāvatī*.

[20]Ever since the publication of Mirashi's volume (see fn. 2) two decades ago, there have been some very significant finds of Vākāṭaka inscriptions, e.g., four Mandhal plates, Mahurjhari plates, Pauni grant, Thalner copperplates, etc. But there are a few more, which remain to be edited and published.

[21]Nanaghat cave inscription of Nāgamnikā, Nasik cave inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī (years 18 and 24 = *c.* AD 124 and 130 respectively); Karle cave inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi (year 7 = *c.* AD 137) and Nasik cave inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi (year 22 = *c.* AD 152).

[22]The figures for donated villages under Pravarasena II would still be higher as some of his inscriptions, which remain unpublished, could not be utilized.

[23](*a*) 20½ *nivartanas* in Kāṁsakārakagrāma (Thalner plates). The relevant portion in the text reads *viṁśati arddhaviṁśati* which fails to yield a satisfactory meaning. It seems that, as in other cases that follow, *arddhaviṁśatiḥ* was intended here as well: but by oversight the scribe first wrote *viṁśati* and thereafter, realizing his error, the intended word, *arddhaviṃśati*, but again by oversight, forgot to cancel *viṁśati*. *Arddhaviṃśati*, in this as well as in other subsequent cases (b-c), is a mistake for *sārddhaviṁśati*.

(*b-c*) 20½ *nivartanas* each in Govachchhetaṭīgrāma and Suvarṇakāragrāma (both in the Thalner plates). According to Mirashi, the expression *arddhaviṁśati* should be taken to mean "half of twenty" (*Indological Research Papers*, I, p. 80), viz., 10. However, if this were the intended meaning, we should have expected *daśa* or, less justifiably, *viṁśty-arddha*. As pointed out earlier, the intended reading probably is *sārddhaviṁśatiḥ*. Mirashi is also of the same opinion but takes the restored expression in the sense of 30, which does not appear to be correct. For the opinion contrary to that of Mirashi, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, 'Thalner Plates of Vākāṭaka Harishen: A Re-appraisal', *JESI*, XI, 1984, p. 15 and fns. 5 & 7.

(*d-e*) 25 *nivartanas* each in villages Lekhapallikā and Saṅgamikā (both in the Pandhurna plates).

(*f*) 25 *nivartanas* in Darbhamalaka (Dudia plates).

(*g*) 50 *nivartanas* (names of the donated village not available), (Pauni grant).

(*h*) 60 *nivartanas* in Karmmakāra village (Dudia plates).

(*i*) 300 (*nivartanas*) 'lands' in a village (name missing), (Masoda plates).

(*j*) 400 *nivartanas* in Velusuka village (Wadgaon plates).

(*k*) 400 *nivartanas* in Aśvatthakheṭaka village (Pattan plates).

(*l*) 2000 *nivartanas* in Dhuvavāṭaka (Pandhurna plates).

(*m*) The entire village of Charmmāṅka consisting of 8000 *nivartanas* (Chammak plates). It is surprising that Professor Mirashi in his introductory notes on this inscription (*CII*, V, p. 23) takes this royal measure as the *area of the Bhojakaṭa rājya* in which Charmmāṅka was situated and *not* as the area of the donated land itself. It is clearly a mistake, and in fact, contradicted by his translation of the relevant line (p. 26).

One *nivartana* of land was about ¾., 2, 2¼, 3 or 4¾ acres according to different authorities (*EI*, XXVIII, 1949-50, p. 245). It was not the same area in different parts of the country and different periods of history. While recounting the ways of living for householders, Baudhāyana tells about *ṣaḍ-nivartanī*, i.e. one who subsists on six *nivartanas* (III. 2.1-4). Recently, D.C. Sircar (*Select Inscriptions*, II, p. 573, fn. 51) considered a *nivartana* to be a synonymous with *maṛtulu* of south Indian inscriptions, but even this does not lead us very far.

[24]Pandhurna plates of Pravarasena II.

[25]Chammak plates of Pravarasena II.

[26]Pandhurna plates of Pravarasena II.

[27]For a detailed discussion on the Karmmakāras, see Dev Raj Chanana, *Slavery in Ancient India*, Appendix III, p. 129f.

[28]See also *CII*, V, p. 99, fn. 6.

[29]Ibid., p. 9, fn. 2.

[30]Ibid., p. 9, fn. 5.
[31]Ibid., p. 9, fn. 4.
[32]Ibid., p. 31, fn. 12.
[33]Ibid., p. 70, fn. 4.
[34]Ibid., p. 31, fn. 11.
[35]H.T., Shelt, *Paia-sadda-Mahaṇṇavo*, p. 229.
[36]cf. Malati Mahajan, 'Flora from Place Names in Inscriptions Found in Maharashtra', *Studies in Indian Place Names*, IV, 1984, p. 98.
[37]A recent survey of some Gupta inscriptions of fifth-sixth centuries from Bengal also hint indirectly in the same direction, cf. Yamazaki Toshio, 'Some Aspects of Land-Sale Inscriptions in Fifth and Sixth Century Bengal,' *Acta Asiatica*, Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture, no. 42, August, 1982, pp. 17-36.
[38]*IAR*, *1972-3*, pp. 21-2.
[39]*IAR*, *1973-4*, p. 20.
[40]*IAR*, *1978-9*, pp. 71-2.
[41]*IAR*, *1968-9*, pp. 14-6; S.B. Deo and Jagatpati Joshi, *Pauni Excavations*, *1969-70*, passim.
[42]*IAR*, *1971-2*, pp. 2-3.
[43]*IAR*, *1974-5*, p. 5; *1975-6*, p. 2; *1976-7*, p. 4.
[44]*IAR*, *1957-8*, p. 23; *1966-7*, pp. 25-6; *1967-8*, p. 35; *1968-9*, p. 17.
[45]*IAR*, *1977-8*, pp. 30-31.
[46]*IAR*, *1978-9*, p. 16.
[47]*IAR*, *1956-7*, pp. 18-9, 35; *1961-2*, pp. 29-30, 101; *1965-6*, pp. 21-2, 28; *1966-7*, pp. 17-9; *1967-8*, p. 23 and *1974-5*, p. 32.
[48]*IAR*, *1975-6*, p. 36; Ajay Mitra Shastri, 'Mandhal Utkhanana', *VSMA 1977*, pp. 142-74.
[49]S.B. Deo, *Mahurjhari Excavations 1970-72*
[50]Ārammi *rājya*, Govvasāhika, Kuruvajjaka/Kurubheñjñaka, Mahalla-Lāṭa/ Mahallama-Lāṭa, Nandivardhanā, Pravarapura,a Pravareśvara, Rāmagiri, Ṣaḍvimśativāṭaka, Supratiṣṭha *āhāra* and Vatsagulma.
[51]Paul Whalley, 'Place Names in U.P., of Agra and Oudh', *JUPHS*, 2, pt. 2, 1921, pp. 19-29.
[52]Ibid., p. 37.
[53]Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 939.
[54]cf. Malati Mahajan, 'Flora from Place Names in Inscriptions Found in Maharashtra', *Studies in Indian Place Names*, III, 1982, pp. 25-38 and IV, 1984, pp. 90-99.
[55]*CII*, V, p. 92.
[56]I owe this suggestion to K.V. Ramesh.
[57]D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 394-5.
[58]*India as Known to Pāṇini*, pp. 38 and 50.
[59]*CII*, V, p. 63. See also Appendix VII, fns. 87-88.
[60]Ajanta cave inscription of Varāhadeva; Ghaṭotkacha cave inscription of Varāhadeva and Ajanta cave XVII i scription.
[61]Indore plates of Pravarasena II, *CII*, V, p. 41, line 20.

[62]Ibid., Introduction, p. 1.
[63]See fn. 14.
[64]S.B. Deo and Jagatpati Joshi, op. cit., pp. 25f, 37-43, 94-6.
[65]Ibid., p. 30.
[66]Ibid., p. 96.

Appendices

APPENDIX I

List of Vākāṭaka Inscriptions

(A) *Pre-Pravarasena II*

1. Deotek stone inscription of Rudrasena I (II?).
2. Nachne-ki-talai stone inscription of Vyāghradeva, a feudatory of Pṛithivīṣeṇa I* (*c.* AD 350-400).
3. Nachne-ki-talai stone inscription of Vyāghradeva, a feudatory of Pṛithivīṣeṇa I* (*c.* AD 350-400).
4. Ganj stone inscription of Vyāghradeva, a feudatory of Pṛithivīṣeṇa I* (*c.* AD 350-400).
5. Mandhal plates of the fifth regnal year of Rudrasena II (*c.* AD 400-405).
6. Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā (*c.* AD 418).
7. Basim plates of Vindhyaśakti II of the Vatsagulma branch (*c.* AD 380-400).

*Inscriptions nos. 2-4 were formerly considered to be those of Pṛithīviṣeṇa II (cf. *CII*, V).

(B) *Pravarasena II* (*c.* AD 420-52)

8.	Jamb plates	king's 2nd year
9.	Belora plates 'A'	11th year (see also Appendix VII, fn. 39)
10.	Belora plates 'B'	11th year
11.	Mandhal plates	16th year
12.	Chammak plates	18th year
13.	Siwani plates	18th year
14.	Ṛiddhapur plates	19th year
15.	Indore plates	23rd year

16. Dudia plates — king's 23rd year
17. Tirodi plates — 23rd year
18. Wadgaon plates — 25th year
19. Yavatmal plates — 26th year
20. Pattan plates — 27th year
21. Pandhurna plates — 29th year
22. Masoda plates — 19th year*
23. Pauni grant — 32nd year
24. Patna Museum plates — date not available
25. Ramtek plates — date not available
26. Mahurzarai copperplate charter (see also p. 3. fn. 1.).

*Originally, the editors had suggested its date as year 29 but it was subsequently corrected as 19 (see *JESI*, XI, 1984).

(C) *Post-Pravarasena II* (*c.* AD 450-95)

27. Durg plates (?)
28. Balaghat plates of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II
29. Mandhal plates 'A' of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II (year 2)
30. Mandhal plates 'B' of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II (year 10)
31. Mahurjhari plates of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II (year 17)

(28-31) — *c.* AD 475-95

32. India Office plate of Devasena of the Vatsagulma branch (*c.* AD 450-70).
33. Hisse-Borala inscription of Devasena (*c.* AD 458-59).
34. Thalner plates of the third regnal year of Hariṣeṇa of the Vatsagulma branch.

Note: It is now being increasingly realized that the Bamhani plates of Bharatabala (*CII*, V, pp. 82-8) are not concerned with the Vākāṭakas in any way.

(D) *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*

Inscriptions of the Ministers and Feudatories of the Vatsagulma Branch

35. Ajanta cave inscription of Varāhadeva.
36. Ghaṭotkacha cave inscription of Varāhadeva.
37. Inscription in Ajanta cave XVII.

With the exception of inscriptions nos. 5, 11, 19, 22, 23, 26, 29-31, 33 and 34, all inscriptions have been edited by V.V. Mirashi in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, V, Ootacamund, 1963.

For inscriptions nos. 11, 29 and 30, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, 'Mandhal Utkhanana' in *VSMA 1977*, pp. 142-74.

Inscription no. 19 has been edited by Ajay Mitra Shastri and Chandrashekhar Gupta in *VIJ*, XXI, pts. I-II, June-December, 1983, pp. 78-84.

Inscription no. 22 has been referred to in *IAR, 1972-3*, p. 40 and has been recently edited by Ajay Mitra Shastri and Chandrashekhar Gupta in the *JESI*, X, 1983, pp. 108-16. See also the subsequent correction of the year of these plates from 29 to 19 in *JESI*, XI, 1984.

Inscription no. 23 has been discussed by V.B. Kolte in the *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXVIII, pt. II, April 1969, pp. 53-7 and *VSMA 1967*, pp. 20-30. It has also been referred to in *IAR, 1967-8*, p. 55.

For other inscriptions see the following:

26: *IAR, 1972-3*, p. 40 (see also p. 3, fn 1).

31: S.B. Deo, *Mahurjhari Excavations 1970-72*, p. 2 and V.B. Kolte in *VSMA, 1971*, pp. 53-77.

33: *IAR, 1963-4*, pp. 21-2, 72 and Shobhana Gokhale in *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXVII, pt. I, January, 1967, pp. 1-5. See also Ajay Mitra Shastri, 'Some Observations on the Hisse-Borala Inscription of Vākāṭaka Devasena', *PIHC*, 31st Session, Varanasi, 1969 pp. 47-55.

34: V.V. Mirashi in *Samshodhana Muktāvalī*, pt. 10, 1981, pp. 44-57 and also in *Indological Research Papers, I*, 1982, pp, 78-87 See also Ajay Mitra Shastri, 'Thalner Plates of Vākāṭaka Harishena: A Re-appraisal' *JESI*, XI, 1984, pp. 15-20.

Inscription no. 5 is not available in print yet (for its short notice, however, see *IAR, 1981-2*, p. 81).

APPENDIX II

A Note on the Chammak Plates of Pravarasena II

Lines 39 to 44 on the fifth plate of the Chammak plates of the eighteenth regnal year of Pravarasena II have been variously read and interpreted. A careful reading of the plate gives the text as follows:

Line 39 *Śśāsana—*
Line 40 *sthitiścheyaṁ brāhmaṇairīśvaraiśchānupālanīyā tadyathā rājñāṁ sa—*
Line 41 *ptāṅge rājye addrohapravṛntānāṁ brahmaghnachaurā (ra) pāradārika-rājā—*
Line 42 *pathyakāriprabhṛtināṁ saṅgrāma-kurvvatām anyagrāmeṣvana—*
Line 43 *paraddhānāṁ āchandrādityakālīyaḥ atonyathā kurvvatāmanumodatāṁ vā*
Line 44 *rājñāḥ bhūmichchhedaṁ kurvvantaḥ asteyamiti.*

In the last one hundred years of epigraphic studies, there have been three major editions of this inscription. There is a substantial agreement amongst J.F. Fleet,[1] V.V. Mirashi[2] and D.C. Sircar.[3] Of these, D.C. Sircar comes closest to the text of the plate. Fleet and Mirashi have gone in for some minor restorations, e.g., the former has added letter *a* before *brahmaghna* and *saṅgrāma* in lines 41 and 42 respectively whereas Mirashi has not only suggested an addition of *a* to *brahmaghna* but also provided *ma* between *saṅgrāma* and *kurvvatāṁ* (l. 42).

In a recent contribution, a detailed analysis of these lines has been undertaken and certain grammatical aberrations have been rightly pointed out.[4] Accepting D.C. Sircar's reading, the author emphasizes that the conditions not only stipulate negative obligations of donees but imposes positive conditions as well: the donees were expected to "*keep on waging war against* killers of brāhmaṇas, thieves, adulterers, traitors to king. . ."[5] D.C. Sircar's translation of the concerned line is, however, slightly different: "that they are always on hostile terms with slayers of Brāhmaṇas, thieves. . ."[6]

Even if one accepts D.C. Sircar's rendering of the text, it is a bit exaggeration to say that the concerned lines echo "the position of

organised crime and of something like class struggle,"[7] a position which the author has reiterated in his subsequent contribution as well.[8] Whether the obligations imposed on donees of the Chammak grant were negative or positive or both, the purpose seems to be only one, viz., to blunt any political opposition to the royal authority.

References

[1]*CII*, III, 1888.
[2]*CII*, V, 1963, p. 25.
[3]*Select Inscriptions*, I, 1965, pp. 447-8.
[4]Raghavendra Vajpeyi, 'Socio-Economic Tensions in Bhojakata Rajya of Vākāṭaka Kingdom in the Time of Pravarasena II', *PIHC*, 45th Session, Annamalai, 1984, pp. 139-47.
[5]Ibid., p. 448, fn. 1.
[6]D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 448, fn. 41.
[7]Raghavendra Vajpeyi, op· cit., pp. 140-41.
[8]Raghavendra Vajpeyi, 'Opposite Pulls of Deurbanisation and Semi-urbanisation in Vidarbha in the Time of the Vākāṭakas', *PIHC*, 46th session, Amritsar 1985, pp. 147-58.

APPENDIX III

Vākāṭaka Settlements at a Glance

S. no.	*Category of settlement*	*Pre-Pravara-sena II*	*Pravara-sena II (+++)*	*Post-Pravarasena II*	*Total*
1.	*āhāra*	1	1	—	1*
2.	*bhoga*	—	3	—	3
3.	*bhukti*	—	1	1	2
4.	camp at	—	1	2**	3
5.	donated village	6	20	9***	35
6.	*mārga*	2	7	1	10
7.	place of issue	2@,£	4 £	4@, (+)	8
8.	residence of donee	—	6	—	6
9.	*rājya*	—	3	—	3
10.	*rāṣṭra*	—	1	—	1
11.	*samgamikā*	—	1	—	1
12.	*viṣaya*	—	—	—	—
13.	unclassified (++)	10	35	16	61
					134 (+++)

Notes:

* : The only *āhāra* mentioned is Supratiṣṭha—both in the pre-Pravarasena II period and in the period of Pravarasena II as well (see also Appendix IV).

** : includes Rāmagiri, which is also mentioned as a place of issue of two inscriptions (nos. 14 & 29).

*** : one of these, viz., Govvasāhika is also mentioned in inscription no. 29 to show the geographical delimitation of other villages.

@ : includes Vatsagulma/Vātsyagulma, which is common to the pre- and post-Pravarasena II periods.

£ : includes Nandivardhanā, which is common to both the pre-Pravarasena II period as well as that of Pravarasena II.

(+) : includes Beṇṇāṭaṭa, which is also mentioned as a place of residence of donee in the same inscription.

(++) : this category includes all those settlements, which have been referred to in the context of the geographical delimitation of donated villages.

(+++) : As full details of some inscriptions are not available, these figures are incomplete.

APPENDIX IV

Notes on Maps

So far, the only map available for the history of the Vākāṭakas is the one to be found in Mirashi's *Corpus*. The map is full of internal inconsistencies. Apart from the rather unscientific scale used (1″=43 miles), it seems to have been drawn up with a sketch map format—in the process, even longitudes have become parallels. One notices very often that the details given in Mirashi's text have not been accurately depicted in the cartographic form. For example, one may cite the following discrepancies:

1. Deotek is described as 50 miles SE of Nagpur[1] but on the map the distance is between 35 and 40 miles.

2. The village of Daṅguṇa which was donated in the Poona plates and identified with Hinganghat is wrongly described as falling *north* of Kadāpiñjana.[2] The inscription says that it was to the *west* of Kadāpiñjana—Mirashi does recognize this in his translation of the inscription.[3] He has, however, plotted Hinganghat on the eastern bank of the Wardha, whereas in fact, it is on the eastern bank of one of the tributaries of the Wardha.

3. Jamb is described as a place 7 miles north by east of Hinganghat.[4] On the map the distance is certainly over 20 miles.

4. Belora is supposed to be a place on the left bank of the Wardha and about 6 miles east of Morsi[5] but the map shows it to be over 30 miles away from Morsi and that too in the south-westerly direction.

5. Yavatmal is shown west of 78° eastern longitude—it is in fact east of that longitude. Similarly, Hinganghat should be NEE of Yavatmal and not east thereof as shown on the map.

6. Siwani is described as falling in the village of Pindarai of the Chhindwara district.[6] Though Chhindwara has been rightly placed, Pindarai is in fact in the Seoni district and lies to the east

of the 80° eastern longitude. Siwani, however, has been placed at about 79.5° and, therefore, to the west of the 80° eastern longitude.

7. Amraoti (Amaravati) should be on the west of 78° eastern longitude and not on its east.

8. Indore has been placed on the 23° northern latitude and east of the 76° eastern longitude. It should have been further south and to the west of 76° eastern longitude.

9. Tirodi is described as lying 8 miles SE of Katangi,[7] whereas in fact, it is SW of Katangi.

10. Chanda should be on the 20° northern latitude but is shown considerably south of that.

11. Wadgaon is NW of Chanda and not NE thereof, as shown in the map.

12. Betul should be west of the 78° eastern longitude and not on its east. Similarly, Balaghat should also have been shown further westward.

13. Ramtek is NE of Nagpur but shown in the north-westerly direction.

14. Nachne-ki-talai is described as 7 miles NW of Jaso.[8] Though Jaso has been correctly plotted on the map, but the site of the inscription has been shown to be over 30 miles SW of Jaso.

15. Ganj should be SW and not SSE of Jaso.

16. The Ghaṭotkacha Cave inscription is mentioned as lying 11 miles west of Ajanta and Gulwada[9] but on the map it is shown almost south of the famous Buddhist site.

In view of these inconsistencies and also because of a substantial addition to the repertory of Vākāṭaka inscriptions, a fresh cartographic delineation has become indispensable.

We have used the base provided by the *National Atlas of India.*

MAP 1

It shows the chronological and geographical distribution of Vākāṭaka inscriptions. Broadly, there is a twofold categorization:

(*a*) Chronological—under this, inscriptions have been classified as pre-Pravarasena II, Pravarasena II and post-Pravarasena II.

(*b*) Material used/theme—these include land grant inscriptions which are always on copperplates and a few stone inscriptions.

Like Mirashi, we have not been able to plot the India Office plates of the post-Pravarasena II period as the findspot of this inscrip-

tion is not known. However, unlike Mirashi, we have preferred to place the Patna Museum plates near Balaghat on the basis of his information, "plate was discovered in about 1919, while digging the foundation of the bungalow (or one of its out-houses) of the District Superintendent of Police at Balaghat."[10]

The geographical distribution of the Vākāṭaka inscriptions enables us to get an idea of the territorial expanse of the dynasty, which can be placed between the 18° and 25° northern latitudes and 74.5° and 81.5° eastern longitudes. The 78° eastern longitude is taken as an important divider having a bearing on the pattern of settlements (see Map 2).

MAP 2

This map seeks to show the distribution of all the 35 villages donated by the Vākāṭakas in chronological and spatial terms. The bases of these criteria remain the same as in the previous map. However, an added emphasis is put on the topography—the objective being the necessity to show the relationship between the donated villages and their surrounding landscape. This has enabled us to deduce certain important features in the pattern of settlements under the Vākāṭakas,[11] viz., shift from slightly higher altitudes to the valleys of the Wainganga-Penganga-Wardha systems in the times of Pravarasena II and the beginning of the attempt to colonize the western half in the post-Pravarasena II period. The three chronological periods witnessed the donations of 6, 20 and 9 villages respectively.

MAPS 3 and 4

These two maps delineate the settlements other than donated villages mentioned in Vākāṭaka inscriptions. These include those settlements which have been referred to in the context of the geographical delineation of donated villages. We have not been able to locate Māṇapallikā mentioned in the undated Patna Museum plates as situated in the Yaśapura *mārga*. These maps also confirm the pattern of settlements mentioned above, as one can easily notice the concentration of settlements in the Wainganga-Wardha-Penganga valleys. In the placement of these settlements, we have been guided by the placement of donated villages given in Map 2, which also serves as an important criterion for the configuration of the administrative divisions of the Vākāṭakas in the next map.

MAP 5

This map attempts to determine the geographical configuration of administrative divisions mentioned in Vākāṭaka inscriptions. While it is more than obvious that the territory under the Vākāṭaka jurisdiction was divided into various divisions and subdivisions, it is not always possible to determine their hierarchy. Sometimes this may be possible to infer from the sequence of the narrative and with the assumption that it is from the top to bottom, e.g., we read in the Belora plates that Mahalla/Mahallama-Lāṭa was in the Asi *bhukti*, which in turn was in the Śailapura *mārga*. But what does one say about those divisions which are not related thus? Nor does one get an idea of the area covered by various units. As already mentioned, only 13/35 cases of donated villages[12] mention the donated area in terms of *nivartanas*. This is of a very limited value for our purposes. One has, therefore, to keep in view the tentative character of expanse of divisions delineated on the map. To illustrate, one may mention the Pākaṇṇa *rāṣṭra* mentioned in the Belora plates 'B', and where the donated village of Dīrgha draha was situated. If maps 2 and 5 are juxtaposed, the donated village would fall outside the confines of that *rāṣṭra*. But if the evidence of Belora plates 'A' is also taken into account and if we realize that both of Asi *bhukti* and the Śailapura *mārga* were perhaps not unrelated to this *rāṣṭra*, it would change the situation drastically. Most of the donated villages, when juxtaposed with their corresponding administrative divisions on Map 5, appear to be rightfully placed. There are, however, some which impel us to think about the tentativity of our delineation of Vākāṭaka administrative divisions. As illustrations, the following need to be pondered over :

(*a*) Aśvatthakheṭaka: According to the Pattan plates, it was situated in the Varadākheṭa *mārga* and Lohanagar *bhoga*. Here we face the problem of overlap of these divisions with the Śailapura *mārga*, Asi *bhukti* and the Bhojakaṭa *rājya*.

(*b*) Brahmapūraka: As per the Siwani plates, it was in the Beṇṇākārppara *bhoga*. Could not the latter extend further into the north and overlap with the Sundhāti *mārga*?

(*c*) Charmmāṅka: It was in the Bhojakaṭa *rājya* (Chammak plates). We are not sure about the relative position of this *rājya* with its neighbouring Kośika *mārga* on the west. Did the *rājya* subsume

the *mārga* in this case?

(*d*) Dīrghadraha: Its placement in terms of the Belora plates and its implications have already been pointed out.

(*e*) Jamalakheṭaka: Donated by Pṛithivīṣeṇa II in the Mahurjhari plates has been rightly placed in the Jamalakheṭaka *mārga*. But this creates the problem of defining the southern limits of the Surambī/Ārammi *rājya*, where the donated village was situated. Was there an overlap of Ārammi and Vāruchcha *rājyas*? It has recently been reiterated that the Ārammi *rājya* is to be identified with Aravi, a taluka place in the Wardha district.[13] But would not this lead to overlap with the Bhojakaṭa *rājya*? We have, therefore, preferred to accept Mirashi's identification of the Ārammi *rājya*. But we keep the issue of its southern limit open.

(*f*) Kothuraka: Mentioned in the Jamb plates, this settlement belonged to the Śupratiṣṭha *āhāra*. How did this *āhāra* stand *vis-á-vis* the Bhojakaṭa *rājya*?

(*g*) Mahalla/Mahallama-Lāṭa: As mentioned above, it was in the Asi *bhukti* and the Śailapura *mārga* (Belora plates 'A' and 'B'). How are these divisions to be related to the Varadākheṭa *mārga*? Their relative positions also raise the issue of the relationship between the Pākaṇṇa *rāṣṭra* and the Bhojakaṭa *rājya*.

(*h*) Velusuka: It was in the Supratiṣṭha *āhāra* (Wadgaon plates) and its placement makes us feel that latter's southern frontier may have to be extended further in the south and this would necessitate rethinking on their relative position *vis-á-vis* the Hiraṇyapura *bhoga* and the Chandrapura *sāṁgamikā*.

Recently H.S. Thosar has tried to argue that the Supratiṣṭha *āhāra* is not to be located in the Vidarbha area but in the Aurangabad district of Maharashtra. The places mentioned in the Poona, Jamb and Wadgaon plates (nos. 6, 8 and 18) which also refer to this *āhāra* are to be located in the Ambad, Paithan, Bhokardan and Sillod talukas of the Aurangabad district. It appears to us to be a tussle of two regional chauvinists. Thosar's argument that the Vatsagulma and Nandivardhana branches of the Vākāṭakas were combined in the days of Pravarasena II is a rather contrived reasoning. The issue, we think, is still open—tentatively, however, we would like to agree more with Professor Mirashi for it fits in better in terms of geographical contiguity and homogeneity of the administrative divisions of Pravarasena II's days. For

PRE-PRAVARASENA
PRAVARASENA
POST PRAVARASENA
MISCELLANEOUS
LAND GRANTS
STONE INSCRIPS.
MODERN TOWNS
FINDSPOT OF THE INDIA OFFICE PLATES (A) NOT KNOWN.

NIMACH
MANDSOR
R. CHAMBAL
GANDHI SAGAR
R. KALI SINDH
R. PARWAN
R. PARBATI
GUNA
R. SIND
R. BETWA
LALITPUR
BINA
R. DHASAN
CHHATARPUR
R. KEN
RAJNAGARH
PANNA
SATNA
R. TONS
REWA
DJASO
GANJ
NACHNE KI TALAI (2)
R. SON
KAIMUR RANGE
BIAORA
SAGAR
DAMOH
KATNI
RATLAM
R. MAHI
UJJAIN
VIDISHA
BHOPAL
SEHORE
KATANGI
JABALPUR
DEWAS
INDORE
GUMLA
DHAR
R. NARMADA
HOSHANGABAD
VINDHYA RANGE
HARDA
SATPURA RANGE
MAHADEO HILLS
R. WAINGANGA
SIWANI
SEONI
CHHINDWARA
R. BURHNER
KHANDWA
BETUL
AMLA
MULTAI
DUDIA
PATTAN
PANDHURNA
TIRODI
BALAGHAT
PATNA
MUSEUM PLATES
GONDIA
MAIKALA RANGE
SHIRPUR
THALNER
R. TAPTI
BURHANPUR
ACHALPUR
ANJANGAON
CHAMMAK
RIDDHAPUR
AMRAVATI
MORSI
BELORA (2)
ASHTI
MASOD (KAMTHI)
NAGPUR
RAMTEK
MAHURJHAR
MANDHAL
DEOTEK
(2)
UMRER
PAUNI
BHANDARA
DURG
BHILAI
RAIPUR
R. MAHANADI
DHANORA
R. WARDHA
R. ARVI
R. ERDHA
WARDHA
JAMB
HINGANGHAT
POONA Pls.
R. MUL
R. ANDHARI
R. WAINGANGA
YAVATMAL
BASIM
R. PENGANGA
WADGAON
WARORA
CHANDRAPUR
HISSE-BORALA
AURANGABAD
R. PURNA
R. DUDNA
PAITHAN
R. GODAVARI
BRAHMANI
PARBHANI
NANDER
AHMADNAGAR
BIR
DHULIA
JALGAON
BHUSAWAL
GHATOTKACHA CAVE
AJANTA (2) (CAVES XVI & XVII)
GULWADA
MALEGAON
BULDANA
AKOLA
R. TAPTI
SHIRPUR
R. KOTRI
R. INDRAVATI
DANDAKARANYA
R. PRANHITA
NIZAMABAD
KARIMNAGAR
R. GODAVARI
R. MANJRA
LATUR
DHOND
BARSI
R. SINA
BARAMATI
R. NIRA
OSMANABAD
MEDAK
SIDDIPET
WARANGAL

74°E A 76° B 78° C 80° D 82°E
25° N I 24° II 23° III 22° IV 21° V 20° VI 19° VII 18° N

1 cm = 20 kms.

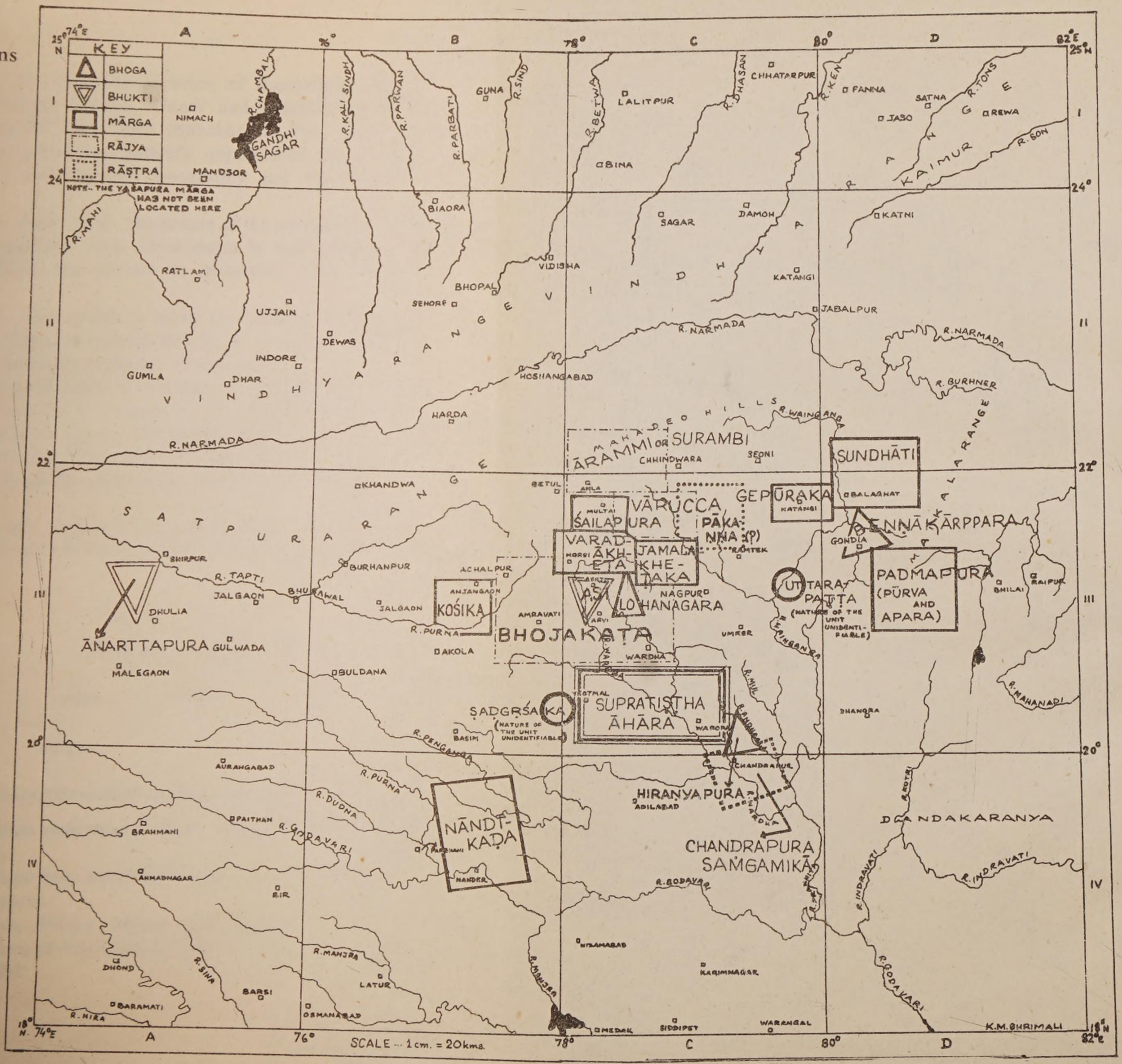
K.M. SHRIMALI

Map 2

Chronological and Geographical Distribution of Villages Donated by the Vākāṭakas

VINDHYA
SATPURA RANGE
ARAVALLI RANGE
ASVATTHAKHETAKA
LEKHAPALLIKĀ
DHUVAVĀṬAKA
SAṂGAMṆKA
MAHALLA-LĀṬA
ASVATTHANAGARA
DIRGHADRAHA
KOṬHURAKA
KURUBHEÑJAKA OR AKURUVAJJAKA
NAGPURI
JAMALA-KHETAKA
KOSAMBAKHANDA
BRAHMAPURAKA
ŚRIPARṆAKA
GOVVASAHIRA
MAṂYĀSAGRĀMA
PARAGRĀMA
SORAGRĀMA
ACCHABHALLAKA
SELLUDRAHA
DAṄGUNA
LĀṬAKAPALLI
YAVATMAL
KARṂMAKĀRA
CHANDRAPUR
DARBHAMALAKA
ĀKĀSAPADDA
VELUSU
YAPPAJJA
KUMĀRADĀSA-VĀṬAKA
MALEGAON
GOVACCHETAYI
KAṂSA-KĀRAKA (KASARE)
JALGAON
BHUSAVAL
AKOLA
AURANGABAD
PAITHAN
PARBHANI
NANDER
AHMADNAGAR
BIR
LATUR
UDGIR
NIZAMABAD
KARIMNAGAR
WARANGAL
MEDAK
Siddipet
MANCHERIAL
JAGTIAL
BASIM
WARDHA
ADILABAD
DANDAKARAṆYA
R. NARMADA
R. TAPTI
R. PURNA
R. PENGANGA
R. WAINGANGA
R. WARDHA
R. GODAVARI
R. MANJRA
R. MANJIRA
R. PRANHITA
R. INDRAVATI
R. MAHANADI
R. SONA
R. BETWA
R. KEN
R. SON
R. NARMADA
R. CHAMBAL
R. KALI SINDH
R. PARBATI
R. DHASAN
R. MAHI
Chittorgarh
Gandhi Sagar
Partabgarh
MANDSOR
Sitamau
NIMACH
Bhindar
Khilchipur
Sironj
GUNA
LALITPUR
CHHATARPUR
PANNA
GANJ
BINA
HATTA
SAGAR
DAMOH
KATNI
Khamaria
Umaria
Gohilla
Shahdol
Burhar
JABALPUR
Narsinghpur
KATANGI
PATAN
BANSWARA
RATLAM
UJJAIN
DEWAS
INDORE
DHAR
GUMLA
SEHORE
BHOPAL
RAISEN
VIDISHA
ASHTA
Sarangpur
NOSHANGABAD
Piparia
ITARSI
HARDA
SEONI
MAHESHWAR
KHANDWA
BETUL
AMLA
Multai
CHHINDWARA
SEONI
CHIKHLI
PACHMARHI
AMGAON
Pipariya
KAWARDHA
LOHARA
KATANGI
NIRODI
GONDIA
KHAIRAGARH
RAIPUR
DURG BHILAI
DHAMTARI
BHANDARA
MANDHAL
WARUD
MORSI
ASHTI
WARDHA
(HINGANGHAT)
PAUNI
WANI
KOTHURA
Karanja
YAVATMAL
(LADKHED)
WARORA
WANI
CHANDRAPUR
WAIRAGARH
MANPUR
DHAMDA
Sihawa
BANDA
SELLUDRAHA
Ellora
Aurangabad
Hingoli
Brahmapuri
Ambajogai
Ahmadpur
Udgir
Latur
Bhalki
Bidar
Omerga
Bhoom
Karmala
Barsi
Indapur
Shirpur
Erandol
DHULIA
Shirdana
Bhokardan
Jintur
Sailu
Pathri
Ashti
Manjra
Sina
Godavari
Manjira
Wainganga
Wardha
Penganga
Purna
Dudhna
Godavari
Pranhita
Indravati
Mahanadi
Wainganga
Wardha
Penganga
Purna
Godavari
Manjra
Manjira
Sina
Godavari

A
B
C
D
74° E
76°
78°
80°
82° E
25° N
24°
22°
20°
18° N
I
II
III
IV
R. CHAMBAL
GANDHI SAGAR
NIMACH
MANDSOR
R. KALI SINDH
R. PARWAN
R. PARBATI
GUNA
R. SIND
R. BETWA
LALITPUR
R. BAGEAN
CHHATARPUR
R. KEN
PANNA
SATNA
R. TONS
JASO
REWA
R. SON
KAIMUR
RANGE
GINA
SAGAR
DAMOH
KATNI
R. MAHI
RATLAM
UJJAIN
INDORE
GUMLA
DHAR
VIDISHA
BHOPAL
SEHOREO
KATANGI
JABALPUR
R. NARMADA
DEWAS
HOSHANGABAD
HARDA
VINDHYA RANGE
MAHADEO HILLS
R. WAINGANGA
R. BURHNER
CHHINDWARA
SEONI
KARAÑJAVIRAKA
KOŚAMBAKA
BRAHMAPŪRAKA
DARBHAVIRAKA
KINIHIKHEṬAKA
BALAGHAT
KOBIDĀRṢKĀ
FUKUDAMBHAKA
KĀLLĀRA
AMLA
MULTAI
BADARĪGRĀMA
BRĀHMAṆAVĀṬAKA
DARBHAPATHA
AJAKARṆA
KATANGI
JAMALI
ĀRĀMAKA
AÑJANAVĀṬAKA
MALLAKAPEDHAKA
BENṆĀKAṬA
GONDIA
RAMTEK
MORSI
JALAKUTKU-BHAKA
CHANDRAPURA
ARAGRĀMA
BĀBBIKĀ
RAIPUR
BHILAI
ASHTI
NANDIPŪRAKA
MAṬSAKADRAHA
NAGPUR
BHANDARA
GOVVAṬHIKA
MAṆḌUKIGRĀMA
ARVI
BONṬHIKAVĀṬAKA
UMRER
IṢṬĀKAPALLI
KURUDAMBHAKA
LAVAṆATAILAKA
R. WAINGANGA
WARDHA
ŚĪRṢAGRĀMA
CHIÑCHAPALLI
ŚIDHVIVIRAKA
EKĀRJUNAKA
R. MUL
R. ANDHARI
YEOTMAL
VILAVAṆAKA
KADĀPIÑJALA
WARORA
DHANORA
R. MAHANADI
KOKĪLĀRA
CHANDRAPUR
R. PENGANGA
ADILABAD
KADAMBA-SARAKA
R. WARDHA
R. KOTH
DAṆḌAKARAṆYA
R. INDRAVATI
R. PRANHITA
R. GODAVARI
NIZAMABAD
KARIMNAGAR
WARANGAL
MEDAK
SIDDIPET
KHANDWA
BETUL
SATPURA RANGE
JĀTIKKHEṬAKA
SHIRPUR
R. TAPTI
BURHANPUR
ACHALAPURA
ANJANGAON
ACHALPUR
JALGAON
BHUSAWAL
BODRAKĀNAKA
DHULIA
CHHABBILĀNAKA
GULWADA
MALEGAON
AMRAVATI
AKOLA
BULDANA
R. PURNA
R. PENGANGA
AURANGABAD
R. DUDHA
PAITHAN
BRAHMANI
PARBHANI
NANDED
AHMADNAGAR
BIR
DHOND
R. SINA
BARSI
LATUR
R. MANJRA
OSMANABAD
BARAMATI
R. NIRA
K.M. SHRIMALI
SCALE ··· 1 cm. = 20 kms.


KEY
BHOGA
BHUKTI
MĀRGA
RĀJYA
RĀṢṬRA
NOTE- THE YAŚAPURA MĀRGA HAS NOT BEEN LOCATED HERE
NIMACH
MANDSOR
GANDHI SAGAR
R. CHAMBAL
R. KALI SINDH
R. PARWAN
R. PARBATI
R. SIND
GUNA
R. BETWA
LALITPUR
BINA
R. DHASAN
CHHATARPUR
R. KEN
PANNA
SATNA
R. TONS
JASO
REWA
KAIMUR RANGE
R. SON
KATNI
R. MAHI
BIAORA
SAGAR
DAMOH
VIDISHA
BHOPAL
SEHORE
KATANGI
JABALPUR
RATLAM
UJJAIN
DEWAS
INDORE
GUMLA
DHAR
VINDHYA RANGE
R. NARMADA
HOSHANGABAD
HARDA
R. NARMADA
R. BURHNER
MAHADEO HILLS
R. WAINGANGA
ĀRAMMI OR SURAMBI
CHHINDWARA
SEONI
SUNDHĀTI
BALAGHAT
KHANDWA
BETUL
AHLA
MULTAI
ŚAILAPURA
VĀRUCCA
GEPŪRAKA
KATANGI
PĀKANNA (?)
RAMTEK
VARADĀKHETA
JAMALAKHEṬAKA
NAGPUR
LOHANAGARA
ARVI
AMRAVATI
BHOJAKAṬA
WARDHA
UMRER
UTTARAPAṬṬA
(NATURE OF THE UNIT UNIDENTIFIABLE)
ĀNNĀKĀRPPARA
GONDIA
PADMAPURA
(PŪRVA AND APARA)
BHILAI
RAIPUR
R. WAINGANGA
SATPURA RANGE
SHIRPUR
R. TAPTI
JALGAON
BHUSAWAL
DHULIA
BURHANPUR
ACHALPUR
ANJANGAON
KOŚIKA
R. PURNA
AKOLA
ĀNARTTAPURA
GULWADA
MALEGAON
BULDANA
SADGṚŚAKA
(NATURE OF THE UNIT UNIDENTIFIABLE)
BASIM
YAVATMAL
SUPRATIṢṬHA ĀHĀRA
WARORA
R. WAINGANGA
R. WARDHA
CHANDRAPUR
R. PENGANGA
R. PURNA
R. DUDNA
AURANGABAD
PAITHAN
R. GODAVARI
BRAHMANI
NĀNDṬKAḌA
PARBHANI
NANDER
HIRAṆYAPURA
ADILABAD
CHANDRAPURA SAṂGAMIKĀ
DAṆḌAKARAṆYA
R. INDRAVATI
R. GODAVARI
R. PRANHITA
R. WARDHA
R. WAINGANGA
R. MUL
R. MAHANADI
R. BHIMA
R. MANJRA
R. SINA
R. NIRA
AHMADNAGAR
BIR
DHOND
BARSI
LATUR
OSMANABAD
BARAMATI
NIZAMABAD
KARIMNAGAR
MEDAK
SIDDIPET
WARANGAL
DHANORA
K.M. BHRIMALI
SCALE — 1 cm. = 20 kms.
A
B
C
D
74°E
76°
78°
80°
82°E
25° N
24°
22°
20°
18° N
I
II
III
IV

KEY

BHOGA

BHUKTI

MĀRGA

RĀJYA

RĀṢṬRA

NOTE:- THE YAŚAPURA MĀRGA HAS NOT BEEN LOCATED HERE

ĀNARTTAPURA

ĀRAMMI OR SURAMBI

VĀRUCCA, GEPURAKA

ŚAILAPURA

PĀKANNA (?)

VARADĀKHETA

JAMALAKHEṬAKA

LOHANAGARA

BHOJAKAṬA

KOŚIKA

ṢADGṚŚAKA

(NATURE OF THE UNIT UNIDENTIFIABLE)

SUPRATIṢṬHA ĀHĀRA

NĀNDṬKAḌA

SUNDHĀTI

ENNĀKĀRPPARA

PADMAPURA (PŪRVA AND APARA)

UTTARAPAṬṬA (NATURE OF THE UNIT UNIDENTIFIABLE)

HIRANYAPURA

CHANDRAPURA SAMGAMIKĀ

DAṆḌAKARANYA

GANDHI SAGAR

KAIMUR RANGE

MAHADEO HILLS

SATPURA RANGE

VINDHYA RANGE

R. CHAMBAL

R. KALI SINDH

R. PARWAN

R. PARBATI

R. SIND

R. BETWA

R. DHASAN

R. KEN

R. TONS

R. SON

R. MAHI

R. NARMADA

R. WAINGANGA

R. BURHNER

R. TAPTI

R. PURNA

R. PENGANGA

R. DUDNA

R. GODAVARI

R. MANJRA

R. SINA

R. NIRA

R. MUL

R. WARDHA

R. INDRAVATI

R. MAHANADI

NIMACH

MANDSOR

RATLAM

GUMLA

UJJAIN

DHAR

INDORE

DEWAS

BIAORA

GUNA

BINA

LALITPUR

CHHATARPUR

PANNA

SATNA

JASO

REWA

KATNI

SAGAR

DAMOH

VIDISHA

BHOPAL

SEHORE

KATANGI

JABALPUR

HOSHANGABAD

HARDA

SEONI

CHHINDWARA

KHANDWA

BETUL

AHLA

MULTAI

SHIRPUR

DHULIA

JALGAON

BHUSAWAL

BURHANPUR

ACHALPUR

ANJANGAON

AMRAVATI

ARVI

NAGPUR

UMRER

WARDHA

YOTMAL

BASIM

WARORA

CHANDRAPUR

GONDIA

BALAGHAT

BHILAI

RAIPUR

DHANORA

MALEGAON

GULWADA

BULDANA

AURANGABAD

PAITHAN

BRAHMANI

PARBHANI

NANDER

AHMADNAGAR

BIR

DHOND

BARSI

LATUR

OSMANABAD

BARAMATI

ADILABAD

NIZAMABAD

KARIMNAGAR

MEDAK

SIDDIPET

WARANGAL

K.M. GHRIMALI

SCALE — 1 cm. = 20 kms.

A B C D

74° E 76° 78° 80° 82° E

25° N 24° 22° 20° 18° N

I II III IV

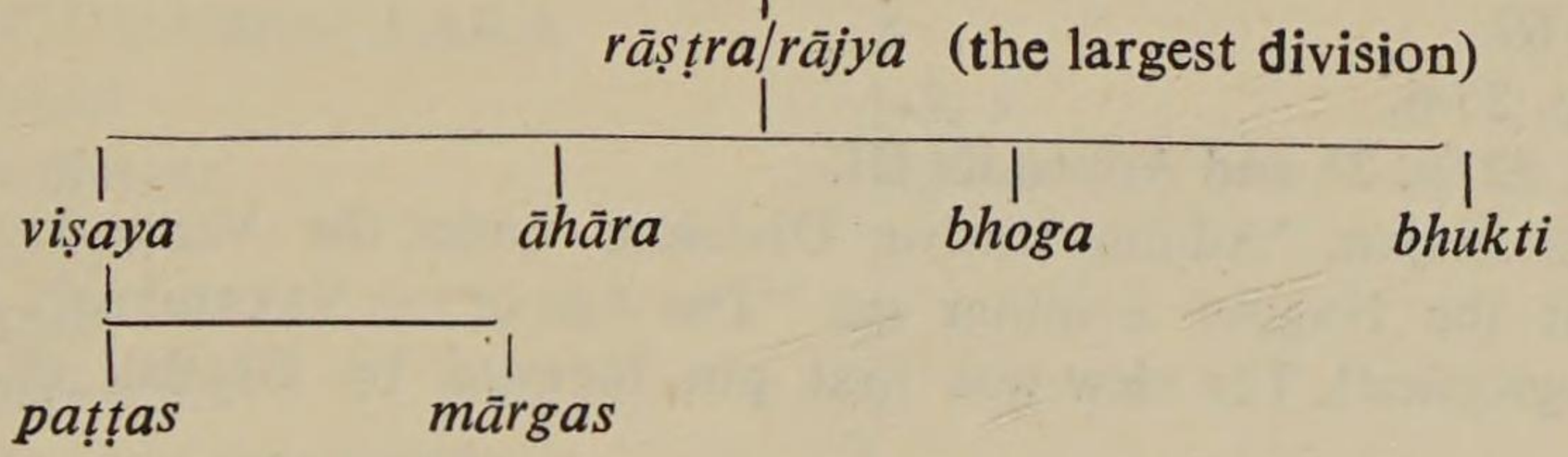
Thosar's view, see 'The Identification of Supratiṣṭha Āhāra'.[14] Incidentally, columns entitled 'Name' and 'Indentification' in the first table on page 49 have been interchanged. This contribution seems to have been based on author's unpublished thesis, "Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Marathwada."

(*i*) Since we think that the nature of the administrative units such as the Ṣaḍgṛiśaka and Uttarapaṭṭa is unidentifiable, their geographical expanse too cannot be determine1 very satisfactorily.

(*j*) We have been unable to locate the Yaśapura *mārga* of the Patna Museum plates, as no such details are available, which could help us in identifying the territory covered by it.

(*k*) Finally, a careful look at this map also highlights the relative paucity of administrative divisions in the western half (west of the 78° eastern longitude), in the Wainganga-Mul system and north of the Daṇḍakāraṇya. This situation is perhaps not unrelated to our deductions about the pattern of settlements under the Vākāṭakas.[15]

An attempt has recently been made to show the relationship of various administrative divisions of the Vākāṭakas in the following terms.[16]



We have certain reservations about these formulations on the following counts:

(*a*) It is not clear from inscriptions that *rāṣṭra* and *rājya* were actually synonymous.

(*b*) Did *viṣayas*, *āhāras*, *bhogas* and *bhuktis* constitute only horizontal divisions of *rāṣṭra/rājya*? Weren't they related to one another vertically?

(*c*) There is no specific mention of *viṣayas* in Vākāṭaka inscriptions. To say that the names of this unit in these inscriptions end with the word *kaṭa* or *kaṭaka* is not very convincing. We have already shown that these suffixes were used in the sense of rural settlements.[17]

(*d*) If *paṭṭas* and *mārgas* were subdivisions of *viṣayas*, then how does one explain the reference to the Asi *bhukti* in the Śailapura *mārga*? Also, Uttarapaṭṭa has been mentioned independently in the two Mandhal plates of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II.

(*e*) There is again no indication in the inscriptions to the effect that *khaṇḍa* constituted the smallest administrative unit under the Vākāṭakas. The context of the only known *khaṇḍa*, i.e. Kośambakhaṇḍa, does not help us in making such an inference.

References

[1]*CII*, V, p. 1.
[2]Ibid., p. 6.
[3]Ibid., p. 9.
[4]Ibid., p. 10.
[5]Ibid., p. 16.
[6]Ibid., p. 28.
[7]Ibid., p. 48.
[8]Ibid., p. 89.
[9]Ibid., p. 112.
[10]Ibid., p. 69.
[11]*supra*, pp. 25-6.
[12]*supra*, p. 32 fn. 23 and Appendix III.
[13]Malati Mahajan, 'Administrative Divisions under the Vākāṭakas', paper presented at the Nagpur Seminar on "The Age of the Vākāṭakas", January, 1984 (*mimeographed*). The view was first put forward by Hiralal, cf. *CII*, V, p. 44.
[14]*Studies in Indian Place Names*, IV, 1984, pp. 46-51.
[15]*supra*, pp. 25-6.
[16]Malati Mahajan, op. cit.
[17]*supra*, p. 24.

APPENDIX V

Alphabetical Index of Place-Names in Maps

1. Location of a place or feature is indicated in the Alphabetical Index by reference to map number and then to the square formed by intersection of latitude and longitude lines, which are designated by capital letters and roman figures indicated in the borders of the map.

2. Vākāṭaka settlements are given in capital letters.

3. Sites of Vākāṭaka inscriptions have been italicised.

Name	*Map Number*	*Square*
1	2	3
Achalpur	1, 3-5	B III
ACHALAPURA	4	B III
ACHCHHABHALLAKA	2	D III
Adilabad	1-3, 5	C IV
Ahmadnagar	1-5	A IV
Ahmadpur	2	B IV
Ajaigarh	1	D I
AJAKARṆA	4	C III
Ajanta Cave Inscriptions	1	A III
ĀKĀSAPADDA	2	B IV
Akola	1-5	B III
Ambajogai	2	B IV
Amgaon	2	C II
Amla	1-5	C III
Amraoti/Amravati	1-5	B III
ĀNARTTAPURA	5	A III
Andhari	1-5	C III
AÑJANAVĀṬAKA	4	D III
Anjangaon	1, 3-5	B III
Anjania	2	D II

1	2	3
ARAGRĀMA	2, 4	D III
ĀRĀMAKA	4	D III
ĀRAMMI	5	C II-III
Arvi	1-5	C III
Ashta	2	B II
Ashti	2	A IV
Ashti	1-5	C III
Ashti	2	B IV
ASI	5	C III
AŚVATTHAKHEṬAKA	2	C III
AŚVATTHANAGARA	2	B III
Aurangabad	1-5	A IV
BĀBBIKĀ	4	D III
BADARĪGRĀMA	4	C III
Balaghat	1	D III
Balaghat	2-5	D III
Bandha	2	D III
Banswara	2	A II
Baramati	1, 3-5	A IV
Barsi	1-5	A IV
Basim	1	B III
Basim	1, 2, 5	B III
Belora	1	C III
BEṆṆĀKĀRPPARA	5	D III
BEṆṆĀKAṬA	4	D III
BEṆṆĀTAṬA	3	C III
Betwa	1-5	C I
Betul	1-5	B III
Bhalki	2	B IV
Bhandara	1-4	C III
BHAṬṬIKĀPADRA	2	A III
Bhilai	1-5	D III
Bhima	2	A IV
Bhindar	2	A I
BHOJAKAṬA	5	B-C III
Bhokardan	2	A III
Bhopal	1-5	B II
Bhusawal	1-5	A III
Biaora	1-5	B II
Bina	1-5	C I
Bir	1-5	A IV
BODRAKĀNAKA	4	A III
BOṆṬHIKAVĀṬAKA	4	C III

1	2	3
BRĀHMAṆAVĀṬAKA	4	C III
BRAHMAPŪRAKA	2, 4	D III
Brahmani	1-5	A IV
Buldana	1-5	B III
Burhanpur	1-5	B III
Burhar	2	D II
Burhner	1, 3-5	D II
Chambal	1-5	A I
Chammak	1	B III
Chammak	2	B III
Chandrapur	1-5	C IV
CHANDRAPURA	5	C II-III
CHANDRAPURA	4	C III
CHARMMĀṄKA	2	B III
CHHABBILĀNAKA	4	A III
Chhabra	2	B I
Chhatarpur	1-5	C I
Chhindwara	1-5	C II
Chikhli	2	C II
CHIKKAMBURI	3	C III
CHIṄCHĀPALLĪ	4	C III
Chitorgarh	2	A I
Damoh	1-5	C II
Dandakāraṇya	1-5	D IV
DAṄGUṆA	2	C III
DARBHAMALAKA	2	C IV
DARBHAPATHA	4	C III
DARBHAVIRAKA	4	D III
Darwha	2	B III
Deotek	1	C III
Dewas	2-5	B II
Dhamtari	2	D III
Dhanora	1-5	D III
Dhar	1-5	A II
Dhasan	1-5	C I
Dhond	1-5	A IV
Dhulia	1-5	A III
DHUVAVĀṬAKA	2	C III
Diglur	2	B IV
DĪRGHADRAHA	2	C III
Dudia	1	C III
Dudna	1-5	B IV
Durg	1	D III
Durg	2	D III

1	2	3
EKĀRJUNAKA	4	C III
Erandol	2	A III
FUKUDAMBHAKA	4	D III
Gandhi Sagar	1-5	A I
Ganj	1	D I
Ganj	2	D I
GEPŪRAKA	5	C-D III
Ghaṭotkacha Cave Ins.	1	A III
Godavari	1-5	A- D IV
Gondia	1-5	D III
GOVVASĀHIKA	2, 4	C III
GOVACHCHHETAṬIGRĀMA	2	A III
GṚIDHRAGRĀMA	3	C III
Gulwada	1, 3-5	A III
Gumla	1-5	A II
Guna	1-5	B I
Harda	1-5	B II
Hatta	2	C I
Hinganghat	1-2	C III
Hingoli	2	B IV
HIRAṆYĀ	3	C III
HIRAṆYAPURA	5	C III
Hisse-Borala	1	B III
Hoshangabad	1-5	B II
Indapur	2	A IV
Indore	1	A II
Indore	2-5	A II
Indravati	1-5	D IV
IṢṬĀKAPALLI	4	C III
Itarsi	2	B II
Jabalpur	1-5	C II
Jagtial	2	C IV
JALAKUTKUBHAKA	4	C III
Jalgaon	1-5	A III
Jalgaon	1, 3-5	B III
JAMALAKHEṬAKA	2, 5	C III
JAMALĪ	4	C III
Jamb	1	C III
Jaso	1, 3-5	D I
JĀTIKKHEṬAKA	4	A III
Johilla	2	D II
KADAMBASARAKA	4	C III
KADĀPIÑJANA	3-4	C III

1	2	3
Kaimur	1-5	D I
Kali Sindh	1-5	B I
KĀLLĀRA	4	C III
KĀṀSAKĀRAKAGRĀMA	2	A III
Kamthi	2	C III
Karanja	2	B III
KARAÑJAVIRAKA	4	D III
Karimnagar	1-5	C IV
Karmala	2	A IV
KARMMAKĀRA	2	C III
Kasare	2	A III
Katangi	1-5	C II
Katangi	1-5	C III
Katni	1-5	D II
Kawardha	2	D II
Ken	1-5	C-D I
Khairagarh	2	D III
Khamaria	2	D II
Khandwa	1-5	B III
Khilchipur	2	B I
KIṆIHIKHEṬAKA	4	D III
KOBIDĀRIKĀ	4	D III
KOKILĀRA	4	C IV
KOLLAPŪRAKA	4	C III
KOŚAMBAKA	4	D III
KOŚAMBAKHAṆḌA	2	C III
KOŚIKA	5	B III
KOTHURAKA	2	C III
Kotri	1-5	D IV
KṚṢṆĀLEŚALIKAṬAKA	3	B III
KUMĀRADĀSAVĀṬAKA	2	A III
KURUDAMBHAKA	4	D III
KURUVAJJAKA/KURUBHEN-JÑAKA	2	C III
Ladkhed	2	C III
Lalitpur	1-5	C I
LĀṬAKAPALLI	2	B III
Latur	1-5	B IV
LAVAṆATAILAKA	4	C III
LEKHAPALLIKĀ	2	C III
LOHANAGARA	5	C III
Lohara	2	D III
MADHUKAJJHARI	3	D III
Mahadeo Hills	1-5	C II

1	2	3
MAHALLA/MAHALLAMA-		
LĀṬA	2	B III
Mahanadi	1-5	D III
Maheshwar	2	A II
Mahi	1-5	A II
Mahurjhari	1	C III
Maikala Range	1-5	D II-III
Malegaon	1-5	A III
MALLAKAPEDHAKA	4	C III
Mancheral	2	C IV
Mandhal	1	C III
Mandhal	2	C III
Mandla	2	D II
Mandsor	2-5	A I
MAṆḌUKIGRĀMA	4	C III
Manjra	1-5	B IV
Manpur	2	D III
Manthani	2	C IV
Masoda (*Kamthi*)	1	C III
MATSAKADRAHA	4	C III
Medak	1-5	C IV
MILLUKADRATHA	3	D III
MṀYSAGRĀMA	2	C III
Morsi	1-5	C III
MṚIGASIMA	3	C III
Mul	1-5	C III
Multai	1-5	C III
Nachne-ki-talai	1	D I
Nagpur	1-5	C III
Nander	1-5	B IV
NĀNDĪKAḌA	5	B IV
NANDIPŪRAKA	4	C III
NANDIVARDHANĀ	3	C III
NĀṄGARAKAṬAKA	3	B III
NARATTAṄGAVĀRI	3	B III
Narmada	1-5	A-D II
Narsinghpur	2	C II
NĪLĪGRĀMA	3	C III
Nimach	1-5	A I
Nira	1, 3-5	A IV
Nizam Sagar	2	C IV
Nizamabad	1-5	C IV
Osmanabad	1, 3-5	B IV

1	2	3
Pachmarhi	2	C II
PADMAPURA	3	D III
PADMAPURA (APARA)	5	D III
PADMAPURA (PŪRVA)	5	D III
Paithan	1-5	A IV
PĀKAṆṆA	5	C III
Pandhurna	1	C III
Panna	1-5	D I
Parbati	1-5	B I
Parbhani	1-5	B IV
Parkal	2	C IV
Parwan	1-5	B I
Partabgarh	2	A I
Patan	2	C II
Patna Museum Plates	1	D III
Pattan	1	C III
Pauni	1	C III
Penganga	1-5	B-C III-IV
PIḌERIKA	3	C III
Piparia	2	C II
Poona plates	1	C III
Pranhita	1-5	C IV
PRAVARAJJAVĀṬAKA	3	D II
PRAVARAPURA	3	C II
PRAVAREŚVARA	3	C III
PṚITHIVĪSAMUDRA	3	C III
Purna	1-5	B III-IV
Raipur	1-5	D III
Raisen	2	B II
RĀMAGIRI	3	C III
Ramtek	1	C III
Ramtek	2-5	C III
Ratlam	1-5	A II
Rewa	1-5	D I
Riddhapur	1	C III
ṢAḌGṚŚAKA	3, 5	B-C III
ṢAḌAVIṀŚATIVĀṬAKĀ	3	C III
Sagar	1-5	C II
ŚAILAPURA	5	C III
SAṀGAMIKĀ	2	C III
ŚAṆKHIKA	3	D III
Sarangpur	2	B II
Satna	1-5	D I

1	2	3
Stapura Range	1-5	A-C II-III
Sehore	1-5	B II
SELLUDRAHA	2	D III
Seoni	1-5	C II
Shahdol	2	D II
Shirpur	1-5	A III
Siddipet	1-5	C IV
SIDIVIVARAKA	4	C III
Sina	1-5	A IV
Sind	1-5	B I
Sironj	2	B I
ŚĪRṢAGRĀMA	4	C III
Sitagaon	2	D III
Sitamau	2	A I
Siwani	1	C II
SOMADARYYĀ	3	C III
Son	1-5	D I
Sonare	2	A III
ŚRĪPARṆṆAAKĀ	2	D III
ŚULKAVAṬA	3	C III
SUNDHĀTI	5	D II-III
SUPRATIṢṬHA	5	C III
SURAGRĀMA	2	D III
SURAMBI	5	C II-III
SUVARṆAKĀRAGRĀMA	2	A III
TĀKĀLAKKHOPAKA	3	B IV
Tapti	1-5	B III
Thalner	1	A III
Tirodi	1	C III
Tirodi	2	C III
Tons	2-5	D I
UBBHILAKA	3	C III
Udgir	2	B IV
Ujjain	1-5	A II
Umaria	2	D II
Umrer	1-5	C III
UTTARAPAṬṬA	5	C III
VAṀŚĪVĀHALĪ	3	A III
VARADĀKHEṬA	5	B-C III
VARDHAMĀNAKA	3	C III
VĀRUCHCHA	3	C III
VAṬĀLIKĀ	3	A III
VAṬAPŪRAKA	3	D III

1	2	3
VATSAGULMA	3	B III
VELUSUKA	2	C III
VEMBĀRA	3	C IV
Vidisha	1-5	B II
VIJAYAPALLIVĀṬAKA	3	C III
VILAVAṆAKA	4	C III
Vindhya Range	1-5	A-D I-II
Wadgaon	1	C III
Wainganga	1-5	C-D II-III
Wairagarh	2	D III
Wani	2	C III
Warangal	1-5	C IV
Wardha	1-5	C III
Wardha	1-5	C III-IV
Warora	1-5	C III
Warud	2	C III
YAPPAJJA	2	B III
Yavatmal	1	C III
Yavatmal (Yeotmal)	2-5	C III
Missing name of village donated in the Indore Plates	2	D III
Missing name of village donated in the Mosoda Plates	2	C III
Missing name of village donated in the Pauni grant	2	B III

APPENDIX VI

Texts of Some New Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas

MANDHAL PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II (YEAR 16)

Text[1]

First Plate

1. द्रि(दृ)ष्ट[म् ।*] स्वस्ति प्रवरपुरादग्निष्टो(ष्टो) माप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्य-
   षोडश्यतिरात्रवाज-
2. पेयबृहस्पतिसवसाद्यस्क्रचतुरश्वमेधयाजिन:[2] विष्णुद्रद्ध[3]-
3. सगोत्रस्य मम्राट्[4] वाकाटकानां महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य
4. सूनोस्सूनो: अत्यत्न(न्त) स्वामिमहाभे(भै) रवभक्तस्य अ (अं) सं(स)
   भारसरिवे-
5. विशित[5] गि(शि) वलिङ्गा(ङ्गो) द्वहनशिवसुपरित्य (तु)ष्टसमुत्पा-
   दितराजवंशाना-

Second Plate: First Side

6. म्पराक्रम(मा) धिगतभागि(गो) रथ्यमलजलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्त(क्ता)-
   नान्दशाश्य(श्व) मे-
7. धावभृथस्नातनाम्भारशिवानाम्महाजश्रि(श्री) भवनागदौहित्रस्य
8. गो(गौ) तमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानां महाराजश्रीरुद्रसे-
9. नस्य सूनोरत्यत्त(न्त) माहेश्वरस्य सत्यार्ज्जवकारुण्यशौर्य्य विक्रमन-
10. यविनयम(मा) हात्म्यश्रीमत्य(त्त्व) पात्रगतभक्तित्य(त्व) धर्म्मविजयित्य-
    (त्व) मनोने(नै) र्म-

Second Plate: Second Side

11. ल्य (ल्या) दिगुण[6] समुपेतस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनस-
12. त्ना (न्ता) नपुत्रपौत्र (त्रि) तो (णो) युधिष्ठिरव (वृ) त्तेव्वाक (का)-
    टकाना (नां) महाराजश्रीप्रि (पृ) थिवीसे (षे)-
13. णस्य सूनोर्ब्भगवतश्चक्रपाण (णेः) [प्र*] सादोपार्ज्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य-
14. वाकाटकाना (नां) महाराजश्रीरुद्रस (से) नस्य सूनोम (र्म) हारा-
    जाधिरा-
15. जश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायाम्प्रभावति (ती) गुप्त (प्ता) यामुत्पन्नस्य शा (श)-
    म्भा (म्भो)〓प्र-

Third Plate: First Side

16. सादधृति (त) कात्त (र्त्त) युगस्य वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहा-
    राजश्री-
17. प्रवरसेनस्य वचना [त्*] बेण्णातट अपरपट्टे म्मयसग्ग्रामो
18. त्ना (ना) म ग्राम[7] पूर्व्वस्थितसि (सी) मापरिग्रहेण
19. षोडषम[8] साण्व (सांव) त्सरिककात्ति (र्त्ति) कप्रदानो
20. बेण्णातटवास्तव्यतैत्ति (त्ति) रिकौत्ससगोत्रअप्रतिग्राप (ह) क-
21. उपाद्धयायपुत्रउपाद्धययमातृस्वामिने दत्न (त्त) [: ।*]

Third Plate: Second Side

22. अत्र च धन्न (र्म्म) त्रिभागः नरिन्दराजनन्या[9] आज्झिकभ-
23. ट्टारिकाया [: ।*] यतोस्मत्सन्नकः[10] सन्यद्धयक्षनियोगः[11]
24. नियूत्नोः[12] आज्ञासञ्चारिकुलपुत्राधिकृता भटा-
25. श्छात्राश्च विपु (श्रु) तपूर्व्य (र्व्व) याज्ञायाज्ञापयितव्या [: ।*] विदिन
    (त) मस्तु
26. वः यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्म्मायुर्ब्य (र्व्व) लविजयैश्च (श्व) र्य्य-

Fourth Plate: First Side

27. विवृद्धये इहापु (मु) त्र हितार्त्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैज [यि*]-
28. के धर्म्मस्थाने सृ (अ) पूर्व्वदत्या(त्या) उदकपूर्व्वमतिसृष्ट(ष्ट) [: ।*]
29. उचितश्चास्य[13] पूर्व्वराजानुमताञ्चातुर्व्विद्यग्राममय्यां-

30. दान्नियतरामस्तद्यथा[14] अकरदायि (यी) अभटच्छ (च्छा) त्र-प्रावेश्य [: ।*]
31. अपारम्परगोवलीवर्द्दः अयुष्पक्षीरसन्दीह [: ।*] अच (चा) रा-
32. सण (न) चर्माङ्गारः अलवणक्लिन्नक्रेनि (णि) खनक [: ।*] सव्यं- (व्व) व (वि) ष्टि-

Fourth Plate: Second Side

33. परिहारपरिहृतः सनिधि [: । *] सोपनिधिः सक्लिप्तोपक्लिप्त[15]
34. आचन्द्रादित्यकालि (ली) यः पुत्रपो (पौ) त्रानुगामिकः[16] भुञ्जता (तो) न केन-
35. चिद्वयघात × कर्तव्यः सव्यक्रयाभि[17] स्संरक्षितव्य ⁀ परिवर्द्ध-
36. यितव्यश्च। यश्चास्मच्छ (च्छा) श (स) नमगणयमानः स्य (स्व) ल्पामपि [प*] रि-
37. बाधा (धां) कुर्य्यात्कारयीत वा तस्य ब्राह्मणै [रा*] व्ये (वे) दितस्य- सदण्डनिग्रह (हं)
38. कुर्य्याम [।*] अस्मि (स्मि) श्च धर्म्मादरकिरणे[18] अतीतानेकराज-

Fifth Plate

39. दत्तसहित्त्यनपरिपालन[19] कृतपुन्या (ण्या) नुकीर्त्न (र्त्त) नपरिहारा-
40. र्त्थ (न*) कि (की) र्त्तयामः (।*)[20] व्यासगीतश्चात्र श्ला (श्लो) क [:*] प्रमाण (णी) कर्त्तव्यः [।*]
41. स्य (स्व) दत्ताम्परदत्ता (त्तां) व्वा (वा) यो रेद्यो वै यसुन्धरां[21] [।*] गवां (वां) शतस-
42. हस्रस्य हत्तु (न्तु) र्हरति दुस्क (ष्क्ट) त [म्*] । [। १ ।।*] स्य (स्व) यमाज्ञाप्त (ज्ञप्तिः) [।*]
43. लिखितः (तं) सेणा (ना) पति (तौ) चित्रवर्म्मणि सव्य (संव) त्सरे सप्तदशमे[22]
44. कात्ति (र्त्ति) कमासबहुलपक्षदस (श) म्या (म्*) ।।

Seal

1. वाकाठ (ट) कलममेस्य[23]
2. वक्र (क्र) मप्राप्तनृपश्रिय [: ।*]
3. राज्ञ [:] प्रवरसेनस्य
4. शासन (नं) रिपुशासिन[24] [: ।।*]

References

[1]From the original plates.
[2]Here and in many places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.
[3]Read *Viṣṇuvṛiddha.*
[4]Read *Samrājo.*
[5]Read *sanniveśiṭa.*
[6]In other copperplate inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas it is *guṇaiḥ.*
[7]Read *pūrvaṁ.*
[8]Read *ṣoḍaśa.*
[9]Read *Narendrarājajananyā.*
[10]Read *yatosmatsantakā* as found in other inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas.
[11]Read *sarvvādhyakṣaniyoga.*
[12]Read *niyuktā.*
[13]Read *ucitāṁ cāsya.*
[14]Read *maryyādāṁ vitarāma-*
[15]Read *saklṛptopaklṛptaḥ.*
[16]Read °*nugamakaḥ* or °*nugāmi.*
[17]Read *sarvvakriyābhih*°.
[18]Read *dharmmādarakaraṇe* or *dharmmādhikaraṇe* as found in other inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas.
[19]Its correct form is '*sañchintanparipālanaṁ*', which is found in other inscriptions.
[20]In other Vākāṭaka inscriptions, this sentence is followed by '*eṣyatkāla-prabhaviṣṇugauravād bhaviṣyānvijñāpayamaḥ*' or *tatsadṛśa udharaṇa.*
[21]Read *yo hareta vasundharāṁ.*
[22]Read *saptadaśe.*
[23]Read *lalāmasya.*
[24]In other inscriptions is found *ripuśāsanaṁ.*

YAVATMAL PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II (YEAR 26)

Text[1]

First[2] Plate: First Side

1. लजलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नातानां भारशिवानाम्म-
2. हार(रा) जश्री भवनागदौहित्रस्य गौतमीपुत्रपुत्रस्य[3] वाकाटकानाम्महारा-
3. जश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनोरत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य सत्यार्ज्जवकारुण्ययशौर्य्य-
4. विक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यधीमत्व (त्त्व) पात्रगतभक्तित्वधर्म्मविजयित्वमनोनै-

5. र्म्व(र्म्म) ल्यादिभिर्गुणैस्समुपेतस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधन-सन्तानपु-
6. त्रपौत्र (त्रि) णः युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्व्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीपृथिवि(वी)षेणस्य सूनोः

First Plate: Second Side

7. भगवतश्चक्रप(पा) णे≍प्रसादोपार्ज्जितश्रि(श्री) समुदयस्य वाकाटकाना-म्महाराजश्रीरुद्र-
8. सेनस्य सूणो (नो) र्म्महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायाम्प्रभावति (ती) गुप्तायामुत्प-
9. न (न्न) स्य शम्भो≍प्रसादधृति (त) कार्त्तयुगस्य वाकाटकानाम्परम-माहेश्वरम-
10. हाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचनात् षड्गृशके लाटकपल्याम् ग्रामो[4]
11. वक्तव्य[5] [।*] अत्रास्माभिः तैत्ती(त्ति)रीयवत्ससगोत्रइन्द्रार्य्यस्वामि-देवाभ्या(भ्यां)
12. पूर्व्वभुज्यमानिका भूमिर्न्निवेशनद्वयञ्च भूयो(ऽ)प्यस्माभि[6][:*] ताम्रशास[7]-

Second: Plate[8]

13. [9]दरकरणे अतीतानेकराजदत्ता(त्त)सञ्चिन्तनपरिपालन(नं)कृतपुन्या (ण्या) नुकीर्त्त-
14. न[10] कीर्त्तयामः [।*] व्यासगीतौ चात्र श्लौ (श्लो)कौ प्रमाणि (णी) कर्त्तव्यो(व्यौ)। स्वदत्ताम्प-
15. रदत्तां व्वा हरेद्यो वै वसुन्धरा [म्*]। गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुर्हर-
16. ति दुष्षृ(ष्कृ)त[म्*]। [।*]षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदिः [।*]
17. आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे [त्*]॥ सव्व[11] २० [+*]६
18. गि प ४ दिव १० [+*] १ सेनापत्तौ बाप्पदेवे लिखितं (यम्)॥

References

[1]From the original plates.

[2]Actually this is the second plate of the original grant.

[3]In other plates of Pravarasena II we generally have *Gautamīputrasya-putrasya.*

[4]Read *Lāṭakapal ligrāmo.*

[5]The address to the whole village met with here is rather uncommon and is not found in Vākāṭaka records.

[6]As the world *asmābhiḥ* has already come in line 11 above, it is redundant here.

[7]The remaining two letters of this word, which were obviously engraved on the missing next (third) plate, were in all probability *nena.*

[8]This was the last, probably fourth, plate of the original charter.

[9]The missing first two letters of this expression must have been *dharmmā.*

[10]Read *kṛitapuṇyānukīrttanaparihārāyā na.*

[11]Prakritism in *savva* (for *saṁva*) in this line and (*gi* for *grī*) in the next lines is interesting. This feature is met with in other records also.

MASODA PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II, YEAR 29

*Text**

First Plate

1. Dri(dṛi)shṭi(shṭaṁ)[1] [।*] Siddhaṁ svasti[।*] Pravarapurād—agnishṭōm-āptōyyā- (ryyām-ōkthya-shōḍaśy-atirātraḥ(tra)-

2. vājapēya-bṛihaspi(spa)tisava saādyakra(skra)tu[2]-chatur-aśva-ma(mē)dhayājinaḥ[3]

3. Vishṇuvṛiddha-sagōtrasya sambrā(mrā)jaḥ[4] Vāka(kā)ṭakā-nām=mahā

4. rāja-(śri)-Pravarasēnasya sūnō [ḥ*] sūnōḥ[5] atyanta-svāmi mahābhai-

5. rava-bhaktasya a(aṁ)sa-mbhā(bhā)ra-sannivēśita-śiva-liṅg-ōdvahana-śiva-

Second Plate: First Side

6. sū(su)paritushṭa-samutpādita-rāja-vaṁśānā(nāṁ) parākkram -ādhigi(ga)ta bhāgīratthy-

7. amala-jala-mūrddhnā(mūrddh-ā)bhishiktānā(nāṁ) daś-āśva-medh-āvabhṛitha[6]snāta(tā)nā(nāṁ) Bhāraśivānā(nāṁ)

8. mahārāja-śri(śrī)-Bhavanāga-dauhitrasya Gautamipu[tra*] sya putrasya

9. Vāka(kā)ṭaknārma(nām=mahārāja-śrī-Rudrasēnasyā sūnōr= atyatta(nta)-māhēśvarasya

10. saty-ārjjava-kārunya(ṇya)-śauryya-vikkrama-naya-vinaya-ma (mā)hātmya-dhīmatva(ttva)-pātragata-

Second Plate: Second Side

11. bhaktitva-dharmma-vijayitva-manō-nnai(nai)rmmaly-ādi-guṇais=samupētasya varsha-śata

12. m-adhivarddhamāna-kōśa-daṇḍa-sādhana-sattā(ntā)na-putra-pautra[7] Yudhiṣṭhira-vṛittē

13. r=vVākāṭakānāmma(m=m)ahārāja-śrī-Pṛithivīṣēṇasya sūnōbha(sūnōr=bha)-gavatas=Chakkra-

14. pāṇēḥ=prasād-ōpārjjita-śrī-samudayasy-āna(nē)ka-saṅgrām-a vijayinaḥ

15. shaḍ-guṇ-ārppaṇa-praśasta-Vākāṭaka-vaṅśa(vaṃś-ā)laṅkāra-bhūtasya Va(Vā)kāṭakāna(nā)[8]

Third Plate: First Side

16. m=mahārāja-śri(śrī)-Rudrasenasya sūnōr=mmahārājādhi-rāja-śri-Dēvagupta-sū(su)ta(tā)yā-

17. m=Prabhāvati(tī)guptayām=utpannasya śambhōḥ=prasāda-śṛi(dhṛ)ti(ta)-kārtatyu-gasya Vākāṭa-

18. kānām=Parama-māhēśvara[9]=māhārāja-śri-Pravarasenasya vachanā[।*]

19. Padmapurasy-āpara-mārggē Matsakadrahan=nāmna(mnā) grāmaḥ[।*] asya cha-āpar-ōttara-pārśve

20. rāja-mānika-mānēna bhu(bhū)mi-śata-traya(yaṁ)[10] bhāryya (ryyā) Mahādēvi(vīṁ)vijñāpy=āprā(pra)tigrāhi-

Third Plate: Second Side

21. ṇaś=ch=ātra maha(mahā)pu[ru*]shasyā(sy-āṁ)śa-dvaya (yaṁ) brāhmaṇa(ṇā)ś=cha Kauṇḍiṇya(nya)sagōtraś=chatu

22. r=vvēda Bō[11](?) ppāryya[ḥ*] Bhāradvāja-gautra[12] Viṣṇu-vārya[ḥ*] Bhāradvāj-Āratyāryya[ḥ*]

23. Parāśara-Bhavāryya[ḥ*] Parāśara Bhavaputrāyya[ḥ*] Bhāra-dvāja-Gollāryya[ḥ*]

24. Bhāradvāja-Srīyāryya[ḥ*] Kāśyapa-sagōtra Bōppāryya[ḥ*] Kauśika-Nārāyaṇāyryya[ḥ*]

25. Kauśika Achalāryya[yaḥ*] Kauṇḍiṇya(nya) Dēvāryya[ḥ*] Kauṇḍiṇya(nya) Dāmāryya[ḥ*]

Fourth Plate: First Side

26. Kauśika-Kēśī(śa)vāryya[ḥ*] Vatsa-Kumārāryya[ḥ*] Vatsa-Kumārāryya[ḥ*] Kāśyapa-Padāmāryya[ḥ*] Kauṇḍiṇya(nya)-

27. Gōlāryya[ḥ*] Kāśyapa-Gōla(lā)ryya[ḥ*] Gautama-Kōṭṭāryya [ḥ*]GautamaRudrāryya[ḥ*]

28. [13]Rājatintiṇika-nadī-gartta-sabhāmadhyē vāṭaka-bhūmiḥ

29. ēvam-brāhmaṇaṇa-dèv-āśēsyaē[14] ha Pañcha-vi(viṅ)śatyā vvā (vā)ṭakaḥ grāmasya (sy-ā)para-pārśvè

30. dattaḥ[।*] yatō=smat-satta(nta)kāsa(kās=sa)rvva-āddhyaksha-niyōga-niyuktā ājñā-sañchārī(ri)

31. kula-putr-ādhikṛitā bhaṭaś=chha(chhā)trāś=cha vṛi(vi)shi-(śri)ta-pūrvya(rvva)tha(y-ā)jñā(jña)y-ājñāpa-

32. [15]yitavyā[ḥ।*]

Fourth Plate: Second Side

33. yathē(th-ā)smābhir=ātmanō dharmm-āyur-bbalam-aiśvaryya[16] vivṛiddhayē ihē (ih=ā)mutra-hitā-

34. rttham-ātm-ānugrahāya Vau(Vai)jayikē dharmasthāṇē(nē) abhaṭach=chha(chhā)tra-prāvēśya[ḥ*]

35. a pārampara-gō-balīvardda[ḥ*] a-puṣpa-kshi(kshī)ra-sandōha[ḥ*] achār-aś(sa)na-

36. charm-āṅgāra[ḥ*] a-lavaṇa-klinna-klēṇi-kta(kha)naka[ḥ*] āsarvva-vē(vi) shṭi-parihāra-

37. parihṛta[ḥ*] sa-parikli(klṛi)pt-ōparikli(klṛi)pta[ḥ*] ā-chandr-āditya-kālīya[ḥ*]putra-

Fifth Plate: First Side

38. pautr-ānugama[ḥ।*]bhuñjatā(tāṁ) na kēnachi[d*]vya(vyā) ghātaḥ=kartavyas=sarvva-kriyābhi[ḥ] sa(saṅ)rakshi-

39. tavyaḥ parivarddhyitavyaś=cha yaś=ch=āsmach=chhāśa (sa)nō(na)m=agaṇayamāna[ḥ*]svalpām-api

40. paribādhā(dhāṁ) kuryyāt=ka(t=kā)ri(ra)yitā vā tasya brahmaṇā(ṇai)r=āva(vē)ditasya sa-daṇḍa(ṇḍaṁ)

41. nigrahaṁ-kuryyāma। Apu(pū)rvva-dattā udak।-pu(pū)vva (rvva)m-atisṛiṣṭa(ṭā)[।*] uchitā (tāṁ)ś=ch=āsya

42. pu(pū)rvva rāj-ānumatā(tāṁ)ś=chātur-vvēdya maryy(ryyā)-dā parihārān vitara(rā)maḥ[।*] Tad=yathā a-kara-

43. dāyi(yī) daṇḍō(ṇda)-nigraha(haṁ) kuryya(ryyā)ma[17][ḥ*1] Api cha[18] dharmmādhikaraṇē[19] atīt-āneka[20]

Fifth Plate: Second Side

44. rājattā[21] senāpatō(ti)-Katyāṇā(n-ā)dayō sakhā-mukh-ājñāpte prabha-

45. vishṇu-gauravād=vā bhavishya vijñāpayitavyā[22] Vyāsa-gi-(gī)tau ch=ātra-ślōkō(kau) pra-

46. mānī(ṇī)karttavya(vyau)[1*][sva]dattā(ttāṁ) para-dattā-ttaṁ vā jō(yō)harētē(ta) vansu(su)ndharā(m1*] Gavā (vāṁ) śata-saha-

47. srasya hatu(ntu)ḥ-pibatih[23] duṣkṛita[m ॥ 1 ॥* Ṣaṣṭi-varisha[24] sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhū[mi*]da[daḥ] Achchhē

48. ttā ch-ānumattā(ntā) cha tāny=ēva narakē [va*]sē [t॥2॥] Varisha[25] ēku(kō)-(natriṁśa[26])d-varshā(ē)-paksha(kshē) dviti(tī)ya-(yè)

49. divasa(sē) pā(pa)ñchama(mī)[॥*]

References

*From original plates and impressions.

[1]It is engraved below *siddham* between the first and the second line in the margin on the left.

[2]In other records we have simply *sādyaskra*.

[3]There is a superfluous slanting stroke over *ji*.

[4]Read *samrājo*. Here as well as at many other places *sandhi* rules have not been observed.

[5]Read *sūnor*.

[6]*Bhṛi*, which was left out by oversight, has been engraved, though in a shorter form, below the line, exactly between the *aksharas va* and *tha*, where it is expected.

[7]In other plates we generally have *putra-pautrīṇaḥ*.

[8]The phrase from *anéka-saṅgrāma* to *Vākāṭakānām* is met with only in this charter.

[9]The tittle *Paramamāhéśvra* is found employed for Pravarasena II only in some of the grants of his reign.

[10]First *na* was engraved and corrected to *tra*; similarly *shya* has been corrected to *ya*, subscript *y* being partly rubbed off.

[11]The reading of this letter is extremely doubtful and is based merely on the fact that the names beginning with Boppa and Bappa are common in the Vākāṭaka records.

[12]In keeping with the general practice, better read *sagotra*.

[13]This line is boldly engraved as compared to other lines.

[14]The correct restoration and meaning of this portion are uncertain.

[15]These letters are engraved below the last but four letters of the preceding line.

[16]Read-*la-vijay-aiśvaryya.*

[17]This is an unnecessary repetition. cf. l1. 40-41.

[18]In other plates we generally find the world *asminś=cha.*

[19]*dharmm-ādarakaraṇé*, is the common expression in other charters.

[20]Read *atīt-āneka* as in other plates.

[21]Read *rāja-dattam* and complete the sentence by adding *sañchintana-pari-pālanam kṛita-puṇy-ānukīrttana-parihār-ārttham na kīrttayāmaḥ sva-mukh-ājñapte éshyat-kāla-prabhviṣṇu gauravād bhaviṣyāś=cha*

[22]Read *Vijñāpayitavyaḥ*

[23]Normally we have *hantur=harati.*

[24]Read *varshe.*

[25]Read *varshe.*

[26]This portion has become very faint,but the proposed reading seems to find support from the fact mentioned above viz., reference to *Senāpati Kātyāyana.*

PAUNI GRANT OF PRAVARASENA II, YEAR 32

Text

First Plate

1. दृष्टं [।*]प्रवरपुरात् [।*]अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्यषोडश्यतिरात्र वाज-
2. पेयवृहस्पतिसवसाद्यस्क्रचतुरश्वमेधयाजिन [:*] व (वि)-ष्णुवृद्ध [सगो] त्र-
3. स्य सम्राड्वाकाट [का] नां महाराज [श्री] प्रवरसेनस्य [सूनोः] सूनोः
4. अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य अंसभारसनि (न्नि) वेशितशि-
5. वलिङ्गोद्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादित राजवंशानां [ना] म्पराक्र-
6. माधिगतभागीत्थ्यामलजलमूर्द्धना (र्द्धा) भिषिक्ताना (नां) दशाश्वमेधाव [भृ*] थ-
7. स्नातानां भारशिवानां महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्यः[1]

Second Plate: First Side

8. गौतमिपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकाना (नां) महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेन-
9. स्य स्सू (सू) नो [:*] अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य सत्यार्ज्जवकारुण्यशौर्य्यविक्रम-
10. नयविनयमाहात्म्यधि (धी) मत्व (त्त्व) पात्रगतभक्तित्वधर्म्ममिजयित्वम-
11. नोनैर्म्मल्यादिभिर्गुणैस्समुपेतस्य वर्षशतमभिव-
12. र्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसं (स) न्तानपुत्रपौत्रिणः युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्व्वा-
13. काटकानां महाराजश्रीपृथिवीसेनस्य सूनोः भगवतश्चक्र-
14. पाणे [:*] प्रसादोपार्जितः (त) श्रि (श्री) समुदयस्य वाकाटकानां-

Second Plate: Second Side

15. महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनोः महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगु-
16. प्तसुतायां प्रभावतिगुप्तामुप (त्प) न्नस्य शम्भो⌒प्रसादधृति(त) का-
17. र्त्तयुगस्य वाकाटकानां (ना) म्परममाहेश्वरमहाराजश्रीप्र-
18. वरसेनस्य वचनाः[2] [।*] कृष्णालेशालिकटकेः[3] ऐहिकामु-
19. ष्मिके धर्म्मस्थाने अचलपुके (रे) भूमिप्रतिवस्तुं ब्रह्व्ं च औप-
20. मण्य (न्य) वसगोत्रदुग्गर्य्याय राजक्य [मा] नेन भूमेर्न्निवर्तनानि
21. पञ्चाशा (शा) त् दत्ताः[4] सहनिवेशनेन । यतोस्मत्सन्तका-

Third Plate: First Side

22. [5]कास्यव्वाद्धियक्षनियोगनियुक्ता आज्ञासंचारिकुलपुत्राधिकृता भ-
23. टाच्छा (श्च्छा) त्राश्च विगृ (श्रु) तपूर्व्वयाज्ञयाज्ञापयितव्या-[।*] विदितमस्तु व (वः) य-
24. थैहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्म्मायुर्ब्बलविजयैश्वर्यविवृद्धये इहामु-
25. त्रहितार्त्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैंजयिके धर्म्मस्थाने अपूर्व्व-
26. दत्या उदकपूर्व्वमतिसृष्टः [॥*] अथास्योचितां पूर्व्वराजानुमतां
27. चातुर्व्वद्यग्राममर्य्यादापरिहारार्त्थं (र्त्थं) कीर्त्तयामस्तद्यथा अकर-
28. दायि अभटच्छ (च्छा) त्रप्रावेश्यः अपारंपरगोबलिवर्द्दः अ-

Third Plate: Second Side

29. [पु*] ष्प क्षीरस (सं) दोहः अचारासनचर्म्माङ्गारः अलवण किं (ङ्गि) न्व (न्न) क्रे-
30. णिखनकः सर्व्ववेष्टिपकि (रि) हाक (र) परिहृतः सनिधिः सोपनिधि [:*]
31. सक्लिप्तोपक्लिप्त [:*] आचन्द्रादित्यकालीयः पुत्रपौत्रानुगामि [कं]
32. भुञ्जता न केनचिव्या (द्वया) घात [:*] कर्त्तव्यः [स] र्व्व क्रियाभिस्संर-क्षित-
33. व्य [:*] परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च । यश्चास्मच्छासनमगणयमान [:*] स्वल्पामपि-
34. परिबाधा कुर्या [त्] कारयि (यी) त वा तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य सदण्डं निग्रहं
35. कुर्यामि [।*] अस्मि (स्मि) श्च धर्म्मादधिकरण (णे) अति (ती) तानेकराज-दत्तासंचिन्त-

Fourth Plate

36. नपरिपालन (नं) कृतपुण्यानुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्त्थं न कीर्त्तयाम ।
37. व्यासगीतो (तौ) चात्र श्लोकौ प्रमाणि (णी) कर्त्तव्यौ । स्वदत्तां परदत्ता-

(त्तां) व्यां (वा)
38. यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [।*] गवं (वां) शतसह [स्त्र*] स्य हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृतं (तम्)
[॥ १ ॥*]
39. षष्टि (ष्टि) वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता
40. चानुमन्ताच्च (च) :—तान्येव नरके वसे दिति (वसेत् ॥२॥ इति)। संवत्सरे
द्वात्रि (त्रिं) शे
41. ३०२ (३२) ज्येष्ठमासकृष्णपक्षतृतीयां सेनापतौ मा-
42. धप्पे लिखितं शासनम् ॥

Seal

वाकाटकललामस्य
क्रमप्राप्तनृपश्रिय [:*]
राज्ञ [:*] प्रवरसेनस्य
शासनं रिपुशासनं-

References

[1]This visarga is unnecessary.
[2]The visarga is unnecessary. The inscriber has mistaken *to* for *t*. It should, therefore, read *vacanāt*.
[3]The visarga is unnecessary.
[4]It should read *dattāni*.
[5]The inscriber has repeated *kā*, which is superfluous.

MANDHAL PLATES OF PRITHIVĪṢEṆA II, YEAR 2

Text[1]

First Plate

1. दृष्ट [म् ।*] रामगिरिस्थानादग्निष्टोमाप्तोय्यर्यामोक्थ्यषोडश्यतिरात्रवाजपेय-
2. वृहस्पतिसवसाद्यस्त्रकचतुरश्वमेधयाजिनः विष्ण (ष्णु) वृद्धसगोत्रस्य समाट्[2]
3. वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूनोः सूनोः अत्यन्तस्वामि-
4. महाभैरवभक्तस्य अंसभारसन्निवेशितशिवलिंगोद्वहनशिवसु-
5. परितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवम्शा (वंशा) नाम्पराक्क्रमाधिगतभागीरत्थ्यमलजल-
6. मूद्ध्ना (र्द्धा) भिषिक्तानान्दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नातानाम्भ (म्भा) रशिवानामह-
(हा) राजश्रीभव-

Second Plate: First Side

7. नागदौहित्रस्य गौतमि(मी)पुत्रस्य[3] वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेन
8. स्य सूनोः अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य सत्यार्ज्जवकारुण्यशौर्य्यविक्क्रमनय-
9. विनयमाहात्म्य(त्म्य)धीमत्व(त्त्व)पात्रगतभक्तित्त्वधर्म्मविजयित्वमनोनै-
10. मा(र्मं)ल्य(ल्या)दिगुणसमुदितस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोभ(ष)दण्डसा-
11. धनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्रिणः युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्व्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्री〜प्रि[4]
12. थिवीषेणस्य सूनोः भगवतश्चक्रपाणे〜प्रसादोपार्ज्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य-

Second Plate: Second Side

13. वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनोः महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेव-
14. गुप्तभृ(सु)तायाम्प्रभावति(ती)गुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य वाकाटकानाम्महा राजश्रीप्र-
15. वरसेनस्य सूनोर्न्न(र्न्न)रेन्द्रसेन[5] सत्पुत्रस्य[6] [7]वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रि(श्री)
〜प्रि(पृ)थिवी-
16. षेणस्य वचनाददुत्तरप(ट्ट) लवणतैलकस्यापरतः इष्टाकप-
17. ल्या (भ्यो) त्तरतः बेण्णाया〜पूर्व्वतः गोव्वसहिकायः दक्षिणन[8] कुरुवज्ज-
18. कन्नामनाम्ना ग्राम :[9][।*]अत्र च ब्राह्मणपुरोगा ग्रामप्रतिवासिनो(नः)कुटुम्ब-

Third Plate: First Side

19. नश्च वक्तव्य[: ।*]यथे(थै)ष ग्रामो(मः)स्वसीमापरिच्छदेनान्यग्रामसीम(मा)
वर्ज्ज(र्ज्ज)तै-
20. त्तिरीककौत्सगोत्रद्रोणस्वामिपुत्रामातृस्वामिपुत्राण(णां)महेश्वरस्वा-
21. मिअग्निस्वामिब्रह्मस्वामिने(भ्यः)ति[10] मानु(तु) रज्झिकभट्टारिकायाम〜
पुण्याप(य)
22. च ये ऐहिकामुष्मिके धर्म्मस्थाने अपूर्व्वदत्या(त्त्या)उदकपु(पू)र्व्वमतिसृष्टः
[।*][11]
23. यतोस्मत्सन्तका सर्व्वाद्धयक्षनियोगा (ग) नियुक्ताज्ञासञ्चारिकुलपुत्राधिकृता
24. भटाश्छात्राश्चाद्धयुषितपु(पू)र्व्वा ममाज्ञा(ज्ञ)याज्ञापयितव्याः[।*] विदित-
मस्तु वः

Third Plate: Second Side

25. यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्म्मायुर्ब्बलविजयैश्वर्यविवृद्धये इहामुत्र
26. हितार्त्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वि (वै) जयिके धर्म्मस्थाने अभटच्छ (च्छा) त्रप्रावेश्य-
[:*] अपा-
27. रम्परगोबल (ली) वर्द्द [:*] अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोह [:*] अचारासनचर्म्माङ्गार
[:*] अ-

28. लवणकिण्वक्रेणिखनक:[12] सर्व्ववे (वि) ष्टिपरिहारपरिहृत: सपरिक्षि-
29. प्तोपरिक्षिप्त: [13] आचन्द्र (न्द्रा) दित्यकालीय [:*] पुत्रपौत्रानुगामी भुञ्जता (तो) न केनचि-
30. द्वयाघात × कर्त्तव्य: सर्व्वक्रियाभिस्संरक्षितव्य: परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च [।*] यश्चा-

Fourth Plate: First Side

31. कुछ स्मश्छा (च्छा) सनमगन (ण) यमान: स्वल्पामपि परिवा, वान्कुटय्यार्-त्कारयिता च[14] तस्य
32. ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य सदण्डं निग्रहं कुर्य्याम [।*] उचिता (तां) श्चास्य पूर्व्वराजा-
33. नुमाताञ्चातुर्व्वै (र्व्वै) द्यग्राममर्यादापरिहारान्वितराम: [।*] तद्यथा अ-
34. करदायि (यी) दण्डनिग्रहं कुर्य्याम:[15] अपि च[16] धर्म्माधिकरणे[17] अतीतानेक-
35. राजदत्तासस्यान्तान[18] परिपालनार्त्थं (र्त्थं)[19] कीर्त्तयाम: (।*) एष्यतत्काल[20] प्रभविष्णु-
36. गौरवाद्भविष्यान्विज्ञाय (प) याम: [।*] व्यासगीतौ चात्र श्लोकौ प्रमाणी-कर्त्तव्यौ ।

Fourth Plate: Second Side

37. स्वदत्ना (त्तां) परदत्ना (त्तां) व्वा (वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धरा (म् ।*] गवा-(वां) शतसहस्रस्य
38. हन्तु⁀पिवति दुष्कृतं (तम्) [।।१।।*] प (ष) ष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वग्ग मोदति भु (भू) मिद: [।*)
39. अ (आ) च्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति [।।२।।][21] सव्वत्सरे[22] द्विति (ती) ये
40. ग्र (ग्री) ष्मपक्षे सप्तमे दिवसे द्वादशे सेणा (ना) पतौ विष्ण (ष्णु) दत्ते
41. लिखितं शर्व्वदत्तेनेति ।।

Seal

1. नरेन्द्रसेनसत्सूनो:
2. भर्तुर्व्वाकाटकश्री (श्रि) य: ।
3. प्रि (पृ) थिवि (वी) षेणनृपते-
4. जि (र्जि) गीषोर्ज्जयशासनं (नम्) [।।*]

References

[1]From the original plates.
[2]Read *samrājo*.
[3]Word *putrasya* is missing here.
[4]Read *srīpṛi*.
[5]Read *senasya*.
[6]In the Balaghat and Mahurjhari copperplates, it reads *sūnoḥ*.
[7]In the Balaghat and Mahurjari copperplates, it is preceded by many adjectives (cf. *CII*, V, p. 81, 11.3-33 and *infra*, p. 79, 11.125-26).
[8]Read *dakṣiṇataḥ* or *dakṣiṇena*.
[9]Read *Kuruvajjakanāma grāmaḥ*.
[10]This letter is superfluous.
[11]The construction here seems to be faulty. It can be said on the basis of the Belora, Chammak and other plates of Pravarasena II that in the line 22 only the word *dattaḥ* should have been used. Also, *apūrvadattyā udakapūrvvamatisṛiṣṭaḥ* should come *before uchitāmścāsya pūrvvarājānumatañchaturvvaidya grāmamaryyādā*. . . etc. and *after dharmmasthāne. Uchitāmśāsya* . . . etc. have been wrongly put in the lines 32-34.
[12]In other Vākāṭaka inscriptions the form is *klinna*. In the Mahurjhari copper-plate, too the reading is *kiṇva*, which has been corrected by V.B. Kolte as *klinna*, *VSMA*, 1971, p. 77, line 39; see also *infra* p. 80, line 39. This correction is unnecessary.
[13]Read *saklṛptopaklṛptaḥ*.
[14]Read *paribādhāṅkuryyātkārayedvā*.
[15]Read *kuryyāma*. The words *sadaṇḍa nigrahaṁ kuryyāma*, etc., have been unnecessarily repeated.
[16]Read *asmiṅśca*.
[17]In all Vākāṭaka land grants, except the Siwani copperplate of Pravarasena II, the reading is *dharmmādarakaraṇe*.
[18]Read *dattasañchintana*.
[19]This is usually followed by '*kritapunyānukīrttanaparihārārtthaṁ na*'.
[20]Read *eṣyatkāla*.
[21]Read *vaset* [॥ 2॥*] *iti*.
[22]Read *saṁvatsare*.

MANDHAL PLATES OF PRITHIVĪṢEṆA II, YEAR 10

Text[1]

First Plate

1. द्रि (दृ) ष्टं (ष्टम्) [।*] बेण्णातटस्थानादग्निष्टा (ष्टो) म (मा) प्तोर्य्या-
   मोत्थ्य (क्थ्य) षोडश्यतिरात्रवाजपेय-
2. बृहस्पतिसवसाद्यस्क्रचतुरश्ववो (मे) धयाजे(जि)नः विषो(ष्णु)वृद्धसगोत्रस्य
3. सम्रा [जो*] वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूनोः सूनोः अत्य-
4. न्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य अंसभारसिन्निवेशितशिवलिंगो-
5. द्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानाम्पराक्क-
6. माधिगतभागीरत्थ्या (त्थ्य) मलजलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्ना-
7. तानाम्भारशिवानाम्महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य

Second Plate: First Side

8. पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीर (रु) द्रसेनस्य सूनोः अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य
9. सत्यार्ज्जवकाराण्ड (रुण्य) शौर्य्यविक्क्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यधि (धी) प (म)
   त्व (त्त्व) पात्रगतव (भ) क्तित्व-
10. धर्म्मवजयि[2] विजयित्वमनौनैर्म्मल्यादिगुन (ण) समुदितस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्ध-
11. मानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्रिणः युधिष्ठिरवृत्ते-
12. व्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्री⌒पृथिवीषेनस्य[3] सून (नो): भगवतश्चक्क्रपाणि-
    (णेः)
13. प्रसादोपार्ज्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य
14. सूनोः पूर्व्वराज (जा) नुवृत्तमार्ग्गानुसारिणः सुनयबलपराक्क्रमे (मो) च्छ-
    (च्छि) न्नसर्व्व-

Second Plate: Second Side

15. व्विप (द्विप) : महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतपा (ताया) म्प्रभावति (ती)-
    गुप्त (प्ता) यामुत्पन्न-
16. स्य वाकाटकवंशालङ्क्कराभूतस्य महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूनोः
17. पूर्व्वाधिगतगुणवद्द्यावा (विश्वासाद) पहृतव (वं) शश्रिय [:*] कोसलामे-
    कलाम (मा) लवा-
18. धिपति [भि*] रभ्यर्च्चितशासनस्य वाकाटक(का) नाम्महाराज श्रीनरेन्द्र-

19. सेनस्य सूनो [:*] कुन्तलाधिपतिसुतायां महादेव्यामज्झित [भ*] ट्टारि-
20. कायामुत्पन्नु (न्न) स्य अत्यन्तभागवतस्य तेज [:*] क्षमाय (स) न्निधात (न) भूतस्य
21. [म*] म्म (ग्न) व (बं) शोद्धतु (र्तु) वा (वां) काटकानाम्महाराज[4]श्री⌒ पृथिवीषेन (ण) स्य वचना [त्*]

Third Plate: First Side

22. उत्तरपट्टे शुल्कवटनामपरत : कुरुभेज्ञकस्योत्तरत: बेण्णानद्याहि-
23. ⌒पूर्व्वत: पिडेरिकाया दक्षिणत: गोवसाहिका नाम नाम्ना ग्राम: स्वसी-
24. मापरिच्छदेनान्यग्रामसि (सी) म (मा) वर्ज्ज :(र्ज्ज) बेण्णातटकका (कौ)-त्ससगोत्रमहेश्वर-
25. स्वामिने च तत्सगोत्रब्रह्मस्वामिने च तत्सगोत्रहरस्वामिने
26. वराहस्वामिनेति[5] ऐहिकामुष्मिके धर्म्मस्थाने[6] दत्त: [।*] यतोस्म-
27. त्य (त्स) न्तका सर्व्वाद्धयक्षनियोगनियुक्ताज्ञासग्वा (ञ्चा) रिकुल-पुत्राधिकृतभट (टा)-
28. च्छा (श्छा) त्राश्चाद्धयुषितपूर्व्वा[7] ममाज्ञयाज्ञापयितव्या [: ।*] विदितमस्तु व: यथास्माभि-

Third Plate: Second Side

29. रात्मनो धर्म्मायुर्व्वलविजये (यै) श्वर्य्यविवृद्धये: इहामुत्र हितार्त्थमात्मा-
30. नुग्रहाय वैजयि [क*] धर्म्मस्थाने अभटच्छ (च्छा) त्रप्रावेश्य: अपारम्पर-
31. गोवलवर्द्द[8] अपुम्प (ष्प) क्षीरसन्दोह [:*] अचारासनचर्म्माङ्गार [:*] अलवणक्रिण[9]
32. खनक [:*] सर्व्ववे (वि) ष्टिपरिहारहृत सपरिक्लि (क्लु) प्तोपपरि-
33. किल क्लृ (प्त) [:*] क्रिख[10] अ (अ) चन्द्रादित्य: (त्य) कालि (ली) य: पुत्रोपौत्रनुगामि (मी) भुञ्जता (तो) न
34. कनचिद्दयहान × कर्त्तव्य:[11] सर्व्वविक्रयाभिस्संरक्षितव्य [:*] पर (रि)-वर्द्धयितव्यश्च [:*]
35. यश्चास्मच्छासनमगन (ण) यमान: स्वल्पामपि परिबाधा (धां) त्कु (कु) र्य्या-

Fourth Plate: First Side

36. त्कारयिता[12] वा तस्य ब्राह्मणव्विदेतस्य[13] सदण्डं णि (न) ग्रहं कुर्य्य (र्य्या) म [।*]

37. अपूर्व्वदत्ता (त्या) उदकपूर्व्वमतिसृष्टः उचिता (तां) श्चास्य पूर्व्व (र्व्व)-
राजानुमना (तां)-
38. श्चातुर्व्वैद्यग्राममर्य्यादापरिहारान्वितरामः [।*] तद्यथा] अकरवा (दा)-
यि (यी)-
39. दण्डाणि (नि) ग्रहं कुर्य्यामः (म) [।*] अपि च [।*] धर्म्माधिकरण अति-
तानेकरा-
40. जदत्तासस्यान्तानपरिपालनार्त्थ[14] कीर्त्तयामः [।*] एष्यत्त्का (का) लप्रमविष्नु-
(ष्णु)-
41. गौरवाद्व (द्भ) विष्यान्विजा (ज्ञा) पयामः [।*] व्यासगि (गी) तो (तौ)
चात्र श्लोको (कौ) प्रमाणि (णी) कर्त्तव्यो (व्यौ) [।*]

Fourth Plate: Second Side

42. स (स्व) दत्ताम्परदत्ताव्वा (त्तां वा)।[15] यो हरेत वसुन्धरा (राम्)। गवां
शतसहस्रस्य।[15]
43. हन्तुह (र्ह) रति दुष्कृत [म्*)। [। १।।*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि।[15] स्वर्ग्गे
मोदति भूमिदः [।*]
44. आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च।[15] तान्येव नरको (के) वसे [त्*]। [।२।।*]
संव्वत्सरो[16] दशमे
45. ग्रिह्मापक्षे[17] प्रथमे दिवसे प्रथमे सेनापतौ
46. विष्णुदन्ते (त्ते)। लिखितं शर्व्वदत्तेनेति।।

Seal

1. नरेन्द्रसेनसत्सूनो
2. भर्तुर्वा (र्वा) काटकश्रियः [।*]
3. प्रि (पृ) थिवि (वी) षेन (ण) नृपतेः (ते)-
4. र्ज्जिगीषोर्ज्जयशासन [म्।।*]

References

[1]From the original plates.
[2]Read *śrīprithivīṣeṇasya*.
[3]These three letters are superfluous.
[4]Read *śrīprithivīm*°.
[5]Read °*svāmina iti*.
[6]This has been repeated in the 30th line.

[7]Read °*trāścha viśrutapūrvvayā.*
[8]Read *gobalivardda.*
[9]Read *alavaṇakiṇva* (*or klinna*) *kreṇi.*
[10]These two letters are unnecessary.
[11]Read *kenachidvayāghātaḥ karttavyaḥ.*
[12]Read *kurryāt kārayīta.*
[13]Read *brāhmaṇairveditasya.*
[14]Read *atītānekarājadattasañchitanaparipālanārtthaṁ .*
[15]This stop is unnecessary.
[16]Read *saṁvatsare.*
[17]Read *grīṣmapakṣe.*

MAHURJHARI PLATES OF PRITHIVĪṢEṆA II, YEAR 17

Text

First Plate

1. दृष्टम् [।*] स्वस्ति [।*] पृथिविसमुद्रात् [।*] अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामी-
2. क्थ्यषोडश्यतिरात्रवाजपेयबृहस्पतिसवसाद्यस्क्र-
3. चतुरश्वमेधयाजिनः विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रस्य स-
4. म्राट्वा[1]काटकानां महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्थ सूनो [:] सूनो-
5. रत्यन्तस्वामि[2]महाभैरवभक्तस्य अंसभारसन्निवे-
6. शितशिवलिङ्गो[3]द्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादित-

Second Plate: First Side

7. राजवङ्शा[4]नाम्पराक्क्रमाधिगतभागीरत्थ्या[5]मलजलमूर्द्धाभि-
8. षिक्तानान्दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नातानां भारशिवानां महाराज[6]-
9. श्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाका-
10. टकानां महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनोः अत्यन्त-
11. माहेश्वरस्य सत्य[7]र्ज्जवकारुण्यशौर्य्यविक्रमनयविनय-
12. माहात्म्यधीमत्व[8]पात्रगतभक्तित्वधर्म्मविजयित्वमनोनै-

Second Plate: Second Side

13. र्म्मल्यादिगुणसमुदितस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशद-
14. ण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्रिणः युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्वाकाटका-

15 नां महाराजश्रीपृथिवीषेणस्य सूनोर्ब्भगवंतंश्चक्रपाणैः (णेः)-
16. प्रसादो[9]पार्ज्जित श्रीसमुदि (द) यस्य वाकाटकाना (नां) महारा-
17. जश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनोः [10]पूर्व्वाराजानुवृत्तामार्ग्गानुसारिणः
18. सुनयबलपराक्रमोच्छिन्नसर्व्वद्विष् [:*] महाराजाधिराजश्री-

Third Plate: First Side

19. देवगुप्तसुतायां प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य वाका-
20. टकवंशा[11]लङ्कारभूतस्य शम्भोः प्रसादधृति (त) कार्त्तयुगस्य-
21. [12]महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूनोः पूर्व्वाधिगतगु-
22. णविश्वासादपहृतवं[13]शश्रिय [:*] कोसलामेकलामाल-
23. वाधिपति [भि*] रभ्यर्च्चितशासनस्य प्रतापप्रणतारा (रि) [शा*] सनस्य
24. वाकाटकानां महाराजश्रि (श्री) नरेन्द्रसेनस्य सूनोः कुन्तलाधिपति-

Third Plate: Second Side

25. सुतायां महादेव्यामज्झिभट्टा[14]रिकायामुत्पन्नस्य अत्यन्न (न्त) भाग-
26. वतस्य तेजः क्षमासन्निधान[15]भूतस्य मग्नवङ्शो[16]द्धर्त्तर्व्वाकाटकानां-
27. महाराजश्रीपृथिवीषेणस्य वचनात् [।*] सुरम्बीराज्ये—जमल-
28. खेटकमार्ग्गे अस्मत्सन्तकास्सर्वाद्धय (ध्य) क्षनियोगनियुक्ता आ-
29. ज्ञासञ्चारिकुलपुत्राधिकृता भटाच्छा (श्चा) त्राश्च विश्रुत-
30. पूर्व्वयाज्ञया ज्ञापयितव्याः [।*] विदितमस्तु वः यथास्माभि-
31. रात्मनो धर्म्मायुर्ब्बलैश्वर्य्य विवृद्धये इहामुत्राहितार्त्थ (र्थं) वैजयिके-

Fourth Plate: First Side

32. धर्म्मस्थाने सोमदय्यर्याः अपरेण-नान्दीपुरकस्य पूर्व्वेण [—*] उब्भि-
33. लकस्य दक्षिणने—जलकुत्कुभकस्य उत्तरेण जमलखेट-
34. कंनाम ग्रामः पृथिवीपुरव (वा) स्तव्यो वाजसनेयिकाश्यपस-
35. गोत्रो (त्र) विष्णुदत्तभवदत्ताभ्यामपूर्व्वदत्या[17] उदक-
36. पूर्व्वमतिसृष्टः उचितांश्चास्य पूर्व्वराजानुमतां चातुर्व्वैद्य-
37. ग्राममय्यर्यादापरिहानान्वितरामः [।*] तद्यथा—अकरदायी-
38. अभटच्छ (च्छा) त्रप्रावेश्यः अपारम्परगोबलीवर्द्दः अपुष्प-

Fourth Plate: Second Side

39. क्षीरसन्दोहः अचारासनचम्मांगारः अलवणकिण्व[18]क्रेणी (णि)-
40. खनकः सर्व्वविष्टिपरिहारपरिहृतः सनिधिः सोपनिधिः
41. सक्लप्तोपक्लप्तेः[19] आचन्द्रादित्यकालीयः पुत्रपौत्रानुगामि (मी)
42. भुञ्जतो न केनचिद्व्याघातः कर्त्तव्यः सर्व्वक्रियाभिः
43. संरक्षितव्यः परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च [।*] यश्चास्मच्छासनमगणय-
44. मानः स्वल्पामपि परिबाधां कुर्य्यात्कारयित वा तस्य ब्रह्म-
45. णैरावेदितस्य सदण्डं निग्रहं कुर्य्यामः [।*] अस्मि (स्मि) श्च धर्म्मादि [र*]-
    करणे-
46. अतीतानेकराजदत्तासञ्चिन्तनपरिपालन (नं) कृतपुण्या-
47. नुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्त्थं न कीर्त्तयामः संकल्पाभिद्यो (यो) गपराक्रमो-
48. पजितान्वर्त्तमानानाज्ञापयामः एष्यत[20]कालप्रभविष्णु गौरवा-
49. द्भविष्यान्विज्ञापयामः [।*] व्यासगि (गी) तश्चात्र श्लोकः प्र-
50. माणीकर्त्तव्यः [*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा हरेद्यो वै वसुन्धरां [।*] -
51. गवां शतसहस्रस्यहन्तु र्हरति दुष्कृतं ॥[१॥*] संव्वत्सरे
52. सप्ता[21] (प्त) दशे कार्तिकशुक्लपक्षे द्वादश्यां सेनापतौ रविदत्ते लिलितं-
    (तम्) ॥

References

[1]If *samrāt* is taken as an adjective of Vākāṭaka then the reading should be *samrāṭvākāṭkānāṁ*. But the adjective is preferable for Pravarasena and, therefore, the reading should be *samrāto vākāṭakānāṁ*.

[2]Since there is some space between *akṣaras ma* and *ha*, it looks that the scribe has wiped off his mistake.

[3]Again some wrong letter has been wiped off and, therefore, *dva* has been inscribed after a gap.

[4]It should read *rājavamśānāṁ*.

[5]It should read *Bhāgīratthyamalajala*.

[6]*Mahārājaśrībhavanāgadauhitrasya Gautamīputrasya putrasya Vākāṭakānām*— this part is not to be found in the Balaghat copperplate inscription.

[7]It should read *Satyārjjava*.

[8]It should read *dhīmattva*.

[9]The letters on the copperplate are damaged.

[10]This description of Pravarasena II is also found in the Balaghat and Siwani copperplates, but not in other inscriptions.

[11]It should read *vaṁśā*.

[12]The word *Vākāṭakānām* which is found in all other copperplates, is missing here, probably by mistake. It is found in the Balaghat copperplate of Pṛithiviṣeṇa as well.

[13]It should read *vaṁśaśriyaḥ*

[14]The medial ā has been attached to the top in the *akṣara ṭṭā*. It is not drawn on the left side and then taken downwards as elsewhere.

[15]The letters are damaged.

[16]It should read *vaṁśo*.

[17]Originally it was inscribed as *dattyā* but later on it was corrected as *dattā*. However, the original *yā* is clearly visible.

[18]It should read *klinna*.

[19]It should read *saklṛptopaklṛptaḥ*.

[20]It should read *eṣyatkāla*.

[21]The letters are damaged. However, the word *saptā* (*pta*) *daśe* is clearly readable and this reading is undoubtedly correct.

HISSE-BORALA INSCRIPTION OR DEVASENA OF THE ŚAKA
Year 380 (AD 457-58)

Text[1]

1. Siddham[2] tasya vrittasya[3] vrā 20[4] Sapta-(Rshayūttarasuvachha)[5] . . . bda[6] **Śak (a) na (m) 380 Vākāṭakānāṁ śr (ī)—Devasenasya**[7]

2. rājñaḥ ājñkarēṇa **Svāmilladevena** Āryyēṇa asmin=kāle pratiṣṭhāpitaṁ nāmnā **Sudarśanaṁ** saraḥ sarvva-satva (ttva)-hi-

3. tāya । Chaturyyugānāṁ parivarttanāni śaśāṅkasūryyau pri (pṛi) thivī cha yāva (t*) ttā (tā) vamma (n=ma)m=ēdam bhagavat-prasādāṁ[8] sat-kīrttanaṁ sarvva-jan-ōpa-

4. bho (gyam) (॥*)[9]

5. Bappakah°=karmma—ōpadēṣṭā (॥*)[10]

References

[1]From the original and inked impression.

[2]This word is written below the first line in the beginning of which three letters seem to have been lost as the portion of the stone is broken away.

[3]The reading does not give any sense.

[4]What we have taken to be a symbol for *20* may also be read as *dhi*.

[5]The meaning of the expression is not clear, though the reading of the first part of it, viz., *Sapta* is certain.

[6]This letter is clear in the photograph. The preceding two letters may be restored as *gat-ā*.

[7]Read *Dévasénasya*.

[8]Read *prasādāt*.

[9]These two letters are engraved below the last two letters of the line. The metre of this verse is *Upajāri*.

[10]This line is engraved in a bordered panel in the middle portion of the stone.

THALNER PLATES OF HARIṢEṆA

Text[1]

First Plate

ओळ

1. सिद्धम् [।*] स्वस्ति [।*][2] वाकाटकानामादिध (धं)[3] र्म्ममहारा-
2. जश्रि (श्री) विध्य (विन्ध्य) शक्ते : स्याग्निष्टोमाप्तुर्य्याम[4] वाजपेया (य)-
3. ज्योतिष्टोमबार्हस्पत्यवचनाद्यक्रतुवराश्व-
4. [मे] ध[5] याजिन [:*] सा (स) म्राट् (जो) विष्णुवृद्धर्म्मम-
5. हाराजश्रीहारीतीपुत्रस्य धर्म्ममहाजश्री-
6. प्रवरसेनस्य तत्पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रस्य महा-
7. राजश्रीसर्व्वसेनपौत्रस्य महाराजश्रीदेव-

Second Plate : First Side

8. सेनपुत्रस्य वाकाटकानामा (नां) महाराजश्रि (श्री)-
9. हरिषेणस्य वचनात् गोमिकराज्ञानुज्ञा-
10. तं ब्राह्मणाना (नां) पदञ्चलसगोत्राणाम्
11. च्छ (च) न्दोगसब्रह्मचारियां येषा (षां) नामानि
12. देवस्वामी गङ्गस्वामी वराहस्वामी भ्भ (भ) ट्टार-
13. [क*] स्वामी खुडस्वामी धरस्व (स्वा) मीत्येवमादीनाम्

Second Plate : Second Side

14. भट्टिकापद्रं जातिक्खेटकात्पूर्व्वेण वटालिका-
15. या अपरेण/मयसिन्या दक्षिणतटे वंशीवा-
16. ह [ली] यां कुमारदासवाटकः च्छ (छ) व्विलानकात्
17. पूर्व्वेण बोद्रकानकादपरे/आनर्त्तपुरभु-
18. क्ते (क्तौ) कंसकारकग्रामे वि (विं) शति[6] अर्द्धविंशति[7] उछ (चे)[8]-
19. ति सुवर्णकारग्रामे अर्द्धवि (विं) शति[9] [:*] गोवच्छेतटी-
20. ग्रामे अर्द्धवि (विं) शति [:*] एतद्दत्त (त्तम्) (।*) उक्तञ्च मनुनापि [।*]

Third Plate

21. षष्टिवर्षंसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिद : [।*]-
22. आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [।।१।।*]-

23. बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्थ
24. यस्य यदा मूमिस्तस्य तस्थ तदा फल (लम्)[10] [।। २ ।।*] संव
25. त्सरे त्रि (तृ) ति (ती) ये वर्षापक्षे चतुर्त्थे दिवसे द्वाद
26. शे निबद्धम् [।*] दूतक [:*] स्वामिलदेवः [।*]
27. लिखित (तं) बोप्पदेवेन [।*]

References

[1]We have used here not only Mirashi's version published in *Indological Research Papers*, I, 1982, pp. 78-87 but also its reappraisal published by Ajay Mitra Shastri in *JESI*, XI, 1984, pp. 15-20.

[2]The word *dṛiṣṭaṁ*, which serves as a means of authentication and is found at the beginning of most of the copperplates of the Vākāṭakas, is missing.

[3]Ajay Mitra Shastri finds this restoration of Mirashi unwarranted, and suggests, "Alternatively, if at all we have to break the compound and make it simpler, we must better restore it as *Vākāṭakānām=āder=dharmmamahārājasya śrī-Vindhya śaktéḥ*, the following *syā* being restorable as *a*. And if we wish to observe *sandhi* rules, we should restore as—*śakter=agniṣṭoma*—.

[4]Read *śakteragniṣṭomāptoryyāma*. See also fn. 3 above.

[5]Read *sādyaskrachaturaśvamedha*.

[6]Read *vimśatirarddhaviṁśatiḥ*. These numbers refer to *nivartanas*.

[7]Read *sārddhavimśatiḥ*.

[8]Its meaning is not clear.

[9]Read *sārddhaviṁśatiḥ*.

[10]Metre of this and the next verse—*Anuṣṭubbha*.

APPENDIX VII

Classified Information from Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas

(A) PRE-PRAVARASENA II

NO.1 : DEOTEK STONE INSCRIPTION[1]
RUDRASENA I (II ?)
Undated[2]

2. *Objective*: Construction of a *dharmmasthāna* (temple) at Chikkamburi.[3]

NOS. 2-3: NACHNE KI-TALAI STONE INSCRIPTIONS[4]
VYĀGHRADEVA (Feudatory of Pṛithivīṣeṇa I)[5]
AD 350-400[6]

2. *Objective*: For the religious merit of his mother and father.

NO. 4: GANJ STONE INSCRIPTION[7]
VYĀGHRADEVA (Feudatory of Prithivīṣeṇa I)[8]
AD 350-400[9]

2. *Objective*: To create something, perhaps a dam to stem the waters of a stream, for the religious merit of his mother and father.

NO. 5: MANDHAL PLATES[10]
RUDRASENA II[11]
5th regnal year (*c.* AD 400-405)

2. *Objective*: For the maintenance of a couple of temples at Vatsagulma[13]

3. *Villages donated*: Four villages: Achchhabhallaka, Aragrāma, Selludraha and Suragrāma[12]

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: The donated villages were to the east of Bābbikā, west of Kurudambhaka, north of Śaṅkhika and south of Fukudambhaka.[12]

6. *Scribe or Dūtaka*: Grant executed under the supervision *senāpati* Vibhiṣaṇa.

11. *Administrative divisions*: Padmapura *pūrva mārga*.

NO. 6: POONA PLATES[14]
PRABHĀVATĪGUPTĀ[15]
13th regnal year (*c.* AD 418)[16]

1. *Place of issue*: Nandivardhanā=Nandardhana or Nagardhana near Ramtek.

2. *Objective*: "For augmenting our own religious merit" (*svapuṇyā-pyāyanārtha*).

3. *Village donated*: Daṅguṇa identified with Hinganghat. Daṅguna>Hingana; ghat added because it was a fording place on one of the tributaries of the Wardha.

4. *Donee*: *Āchārya* Chanālasvāmī (gift not previously made). Also mentioned—Chāturvidya (brāhmaṇas).

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: East of Vilavaṇaka, west of Kadāpiñjana, north of Sidivivaraka and South Śīrṣagrāma.

6. *Scribe*(*S*) *or Dūtaka* (*D*): Chakradāsa (S).

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Dhāraṇa (of queen Prabhāvatī).

8. *Grant addressed to*: *grāmakuṭumbinas*; *brāhmaṇas* and others (residing in the donated village). See also fn. 82, 104 and 115.

9. *Privileges granted*: *lines 16-18*: (a) *agrahāraparihāra*: exemptions incidental to an *agrahāra* granted to the Chāturvidya (brāhmaṇas).

(b) *bhaṭachchhatra prāveśyaḥ*: Not to be entered by soldiers and policemen (preferably umbrella bearers).

(c) *achārāsanacharmmāṅgāra*: exempt from (*the obligation to provide*) grass, hides as seats and charcoal.[17]

(d) *kiṇva kreṇikhanakaḥ*[18]: exempt from (*the royal prerogative of*) purchasing fermenting liquors and digging (*salt*).

(e) *akhanimedhyaḥ*: exempt from (*the right to*) mines and *khadira* trees.[19]

(f) *apuṣpakṣîrasa* (*ndoḥ*): exempt from (*the obligation to supply*) flowers and milk.

(g) *saṇidhi, sopanidhi, kṛptopakṛta*: (*it is donated*) together with (*the right to*) hidden treasures and deposits (*and*) together with major and minor taxes.[20]

(h) *apā*(*ra*) *mpara*(*ḥ*): One wonders if it was also followed by *gobal-avraddaḥ* mentioned in other inscriptions [cf. (g) of no. 7 below].

10. *Deities*: Viṣṇu (the queen as well as Samudra Gupta are called Bhāgavatas. Similarly the donee is also called a Bhāgavata).

11. *Administrative divisions*: Supratiṣṭha *āhāra* (see also Appendix IV, *supra*, pp. 48-49).

12. *Terms of the grant*: line 20: *sadaṇḍanigrahaṁ kuryyāma*: "If the implementation of the grant is obstructed, we will inflict punishment together with a fine."[21]

13. *Vedic sacrifices*: several *aśvamedhas* performed by Samudra Gupta.[22]

NO. 7: BASIM PLATES[23]
VINDHYAŚAKTI II[24]
37th year (*c.* AD 380-400)[25]

1. *Place of issue*: Vatsaulmā[26]=Basim.

2. *Objective*: "for the increase of our life and power, for invoking blessings and peace (for us), and for our well-being in this world and the next."

3. *Village donated*: Ākāsapadda.[29] The land or revenue of the village was divided into four parts, of which three were assigned to eight brāhmaṇas and the remaining one to one brāhmaṇa. The shares of the former, again, were not equal; four of them received only half a share and the remaining four, two shares each (cf. *lines* 7-18).

4. *Donees*: Jivujja (Jīvārya), Ruddajja (Rudrārya), Bhaṭṭidevajja (Bhartṛidevārya), Deaja (Devārya), Veṇhujja (Viṣṇavārya), Vidhijja (Vidhyārya), Pituja (Pitrārya), Chāndaja (Chāndrārya), Jeṭṭhaja (Jyeṣṭhārya), Buddhaja (Buddhārya), Bhāddilajja (Bhādritārya), Sivajja (Śivārya), Hariṇajja (Hiraṇyārya) and Revatijja (Revatyārya).[30]

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: situated near Tākā-lakhoppaka in the *uttara mārga* of Nāndikaḍa.

6. *Scribe or Dūtaka* : *Senāpati* Vaṇhu (Viṣṇu).

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Vṛiṣṇīvṛddha[27] (for the donor). Bhālandāyana, Kapiñjala, Shrāviṣṭhāyana, Kauśika, Paippalādi (for donees). All the donees belonged to the Ātharvaṇa *Charaṇa* or the Atharvaveda.[31]

8. *Grant addressed to*: "*Ājñapti* and soldiers who are employed by us in all departments", (cf. *sarvādhyakṣaniyoganiyuktāḥ*) used in other Vākāṭaka grants, *e.g.* no. 8.

9. *Privileges granted*: *lines* 23-26. Many of the exemptions are comparable to expressions in grants of Pallava king Śivaskandavarman. The *Prakritik forms* which are comparable to those mentioned above (No. 6) are:

(a) *Chātuvejjaggāmamajjātā parihāre Vitarāma*-cf. (a).

(b) *araṭṭhā samvviṇayika*[32]-cf. (b).

(c) *achārasiddhika, acammaṅgalika*, cf. (c).

(d) *alavaṇakeṇṇakkhanaka*-cf. (d).
(e) *apupphakkhiraggahṇa*-cf. (f).
(f) *saṇidhi-sopaṇidhi, sukutuppanta*-cf. (g).
(g) *aparamparagobalivareda*[33]-cf. (h)
(h) *abhaḍappāvesa*-cf. (b)
Privileges not mentioned in no. 6.
(i) *ahiraṇṇadhāṇṇayppaṇayappadeya*-exempt from (*the obligation to make*) presents of grain and gold.
(j) *akhaṭṭāchollakaveṇesika*[34]—exempt from providing cots, water pots and servants (*to touring royal officers*).
(k) *akarada*—exempt from taxes.
(l) *avaha*—exempt from providing draught cattle.
(m) *samañchāmahākaraṇa*—it carries with it the right to platform and large fields.
(n) *sāvvajātiparihāraparihitañcha*—exempted with immunities of all kinds.

Note: Privilege (e) of inscriptions no. 6 is no mentioned here.

11. *Administrative divisions*: *uttara mārga* of Nāndīkaḍa=Nanded in Maharashtra.

12. *Term of the grant*: As long as the moon and the sun will endure (*line* 18) *sadaṇḍanigrahaṁ karejjāmeti* (ls. 27-8) and cf. similar expression in no. 6.

14. *Vedic sacrifices*: Agniṣṭoma, Āptoryāma, Vajapeya, Jyotiṣṭoma[34], Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskara and four aśvamedhas (all performed by the donor).

(B) INSCRIPTIONS OF PRAVARASENA II
(*c.* AD 420-52)

NO. 8: JAMB PLATES[35]
2nd year[36]

1. *Place of issues*: Nandivardhana (see also inscription no. 6) referred to as *Vaijayike dharmmasthāne* (*line* 23).[37]

2. *Objective*: "To increase our religious merit, life, power, victory and prosperity; to secure our well-being in this world and the next and to obtain blessings for ourself."

3. *Village donated*: Kothuraka (gift not previously made).

4. *Donee*: Brahmachārin Kaluṭṭaka. He had performed *gaṇayāga*[36] and belonged to the Taittirīya *śākhā* of Yajurveda.

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: In the Supratiṣṭha

āhāra. East of Boṇṭhikavāṭaka, west of river Umā, north of Chiñchāpallī and south of Maṇḍukigrāma.

6. *Scribe*(*S*) *or Dūtaka* (*D*): Nāgavarman (S); Chakradeva (D).

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Viṣṇuvṛddha (for Pravarasena I) and Kauṇḍinya (donee).

8. *Grant addressed to*: "Officials of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the *sarvādhyakṣa* (see above no. 7) and our soldiers and policemen, to whom the order is already well known."

9. *Privileges granted*: *lines 24-28*: (a) *Chāturvaidyagrāma-maryyādānvitarāmastadyathā*—cf. (a) of both inscriptions no. 6 and 7.

(b) *Saparihāraprihṛitaḥ*—cf. (n) of no. 7.

(c) *akaradāyi*—cf. (k) of no. 7.

(d) *Sarvvaviṣṭi*—free from all kinds of forced labour—*this is completely new addition not found in earlier lists.*

In addition to the above mentioned, (b), (c), (f) and (g) of inscription no. 6 and (d), (g) of inscription no. 7 have been repeated.

10. *Deities*: Bhāraśivas. Svāmī Mahābhairava (with reference to Rudrasena); Maheśvara (Pṛithivīṣeṇa I and Pravarasena II); Chakrapāṇi (Viṣṇu—in context of Rudrasena II), Śambhu (Pravarasena II).

11. *Administrative divisions*: Supratiṣṭha *āhāra* (see also Appendix IV *supra*, pp. 48-49).

12. *Terms of the grant*: As in nos. 6 and 7. Additional information: the grant is to follow the succession of sons and son's sons (*ls*. 28-9).

13. *Vedic sacrifices*: Agniṣṭoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Shoḍaśin, Atirātra, Vājapeya, Bṛihaspatisava, Sādyaskara and four Aśvamedhas (all by Pravarasena I); ten aśvamedhas by the Bhāraśivas.

NO. 9: BELORA PLATES 'A'[38]

Date is Missing (Perhaps 11th year)[39]

1. *Place of issue*: Nandivardhanā. Described as *Vaijayike dharmmmasthāne* (*line* 17) (see also fn. 26).

2. *Objective*: As in no. 8.

3. *Village donated*: Mahalla-Lāṭa (grant not made previously).

4. *Donee*: Sūryasvāmī of the Taittirīya *śākhā*. He is described as the resident of Pravareśvara-Ṣaḍviṁśativāṭaka.

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: In the Asi *bhukti* in the *mārga* of Śailapura.

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Viṣṇuvṛddha (for Pravarasena I) and Kāśyapa (for the donee).

8. *Grant addressed to*: As in no. 8.
10. *Deities*: As in no. 8.
11. *Administrative divisions*: Asi *bhukti*; Śailapura *mārga*.
13. *Vedic sacrifices*: As in no. 8.

NO. 10: BELORA PLATES 'B'[40]
11th year[41]

1. *Place of issue*: Name missing as the first place is not available. But it may again have been Nandivardhanā, for in the *line 18* mention is made of *Vaijayike dharmmasthāne* (as in no. 9).

2. *Objective*: As in no. 8.

3. *Villages donated*: Two donations: Mahallama-Lāṭa[42] and Dīrghadraha.

4. *Donee*: As in no. 9.

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: Mahallama-Lāṭa in the Asi *bhukti* in the *mārga* of Śailapura. Dīrghadraha was in the Pākkaṇa *rāṣṭra*.

6. *Scribe* (*S*) *or Dūtaka* (*D*): Maṇi (*S*).

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Kāśyapa (donee).

8. *Grant addressed to*: As in no. 8.

9. *Privileges granted*: *lines* 19-22 Repetition of the list of no. 8. However, Mirashi has pointed out certain grammatical aberrations because the donation of two villages (*grāmadvayaṁ*) requires the use of the neuter form rather than the masculine.[43]

10. *Deities*: One can assume the repetition of no. 8 as we find same details in no. 9 too.

11. *Administrative divisions*: Asi *bhukti*, Śailapura *mārga* and Pākkaṇa *rāṣṭra* (see also *supra*, pp. 47-50).

12. *Terms of grant*: As in no. 8.

13. *Vedic sacrifices*: Here too one can assume the repetition of no. 8 and 9.

NO. 11: MANDHAL PLATES[44]
16th year[45]

1. *Place of issue*: Pravaraputra,[46] also called *Vaijayike dharmmasthāne*.

2. *Objective*: As in no. 8. One also reads here (*line* 22) that 1/3 of the merit accruing as a result of the donation would be for Ājjhikabhaṭṭārikā, mother of Narendrarāja.

3. *Village donated*: Mmyasagrāma (grant not made previously).

4. *Donee*: Upādhyāya Mātṛisvāmī, s/o *adhyetā apratigrāhaka*,[47] resident of Beṇṇāṭaṭa and belonging to the Taittirīya *śākhā* of the Yajurveda.

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: In the *aparapaṭṭa* along the bank of the Beṇṇā.

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Viṣṇuvṛddha (for Pravarasena I) and Kautsa (for the donee).

8. *Grant addressed to*: As in no. 8.

9. *Privileges granted*: As in no. 8. (cf. *lines* 29-33).

10. *Deities*: As in no. 8.

11. *Administrative divisions*: *aparapaṭṭa*.

12. *Terms of the grant*: As in no. 8 (cf. *lines*, 34, 37-8).

13. *Vedic sacrifices*: As in no. 8.

NO. 12: CHAMMAK PLATES[48]
18th year[49]

1. *Place of issue*: Pravarapura.[50] Again called *Vaijayikedharmma-sthāne*.

2. *Objective*: To record the grant. Other objective being the same as in no. 8.

3. *Village donated*: 8000 *nivartanas*[51] in Charmmāṅka (*line* 19). The grant was made at the request of Koṇḍarāja[52], the son of Śatrughna-rāja (*line* 19).

4. *Donee*: 1000 brāhmaṇas of whom only 49 have been mentioned by name in *lines* 45-59. Either they represented others or were heads of families. Some of these are Gaṇārya, Devārya. Goṇḍaśarman, Nāga-śarman, Guhaśarman, Rudraśarman, Kāṇḍārya and Rudrārya.[53]

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: situated on the bank of the river Madhu in the *rājya* of Bhojakaṭa.

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Viṣṇuvṛddha (for Pravarasena I). The *gotras* mentioned for donees are: Śāṭyāyana, Vātsya, Bhāradvāja, Pārāśarya, Kāśyapa, Kauṇḍinya, Ātreya, Gautama, Śāṇḍilya. In addition, the text also says that donees belonged to numerous *gotras* and *Charaṇas—nānāgotra-caraṇebhyoḥ* (*lines* 19-20) (see also Ins. no. 21 fn. 92).

8. *Grant addressed to*: As in no. 8.

9. *Privileges granted*; As in no. 8, cf. *lines* 25-29.

10. *Deities*: As in no. 8.

11. *Administrative divisions*: Bhojakaṭa *rājya*.

12. *Terms of the grant*: Stereotyped conditions are the same as in no. 7. However, there are certain major responsibilities of donees, which are a subject of keen debate. The relevant lines (39-44) have been discussed above in details (cf. Appendix II). For the violation of the terms, the king was not only going to impose fine (*line 33*) but he could even take away the land (*lines* 44-*bhūmi chchhedaṁ kurvvantaḥ*).

13. *Vedic sacrifices*: As in no. 8.

NO. 13: SIWANI PLATES[54]

18th year[55]

1. *Place of issue*: Not recorded. Probably Pravarapura—*Vaijeyike dharmmasthāne* is, of course, mentioned (*line* 27).

2. *Objective*: As in no. 8.

3. *Village donated*: Brahmapūraka.

4. *Donee*: Devaśarmāchārya—an Adhvaryu and belonging to the Taittirīya *śākhā*.

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: Situated in the Beṇṇākārppara *bhoga*. The donated village was to the east of Kollapūraka, west of Kiṇihikheṭaka, north of Vaṭapūraka, south of Pravarajjavāṭaka and the adjoining village was Karañjaviraka.

6. *Scribe* (*S*) *or Dūtaka* (*D*): Āchārya (*S*) who was also the scribe of the Pāṇḍhūrṇā plates (cf. no. 21).

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Viṣṇuvṛddha (for Pravarasena I) and Maudgalya (donee).

8. *Grant addressed to*: As in no. 8.

9. *Privileges granted*: As in no. 8. However, privileges: (a) and (c) mentioned there are missing in the present case.

Additions:

Sakoraṭaḥ[56] and *sapañchāśāṭkaḥ*.[57] cf. *lines* 20, 28-30.

10. *Deities*: As in no. 8.

11. *Administrative divisions*: Beṇṇākārppara *bhoga*.

12. *Terms of the grant*: As in no. 8.

13. *Vedic sacrifices*: As in no. 8.

NO. 14: RIDDHAPUR PLATES[58]

19th year[59]

1. *Place of issue*: Foot-prints of 'the lord of Rāmagiri, perhaps identical with Ramtek.

2. *Objective*: For earning religious merit in this world and the next.

3. *Village donated*: Aśvatthanagara alongwith a house and four huts of farmers (*niveśanena saha karṣakaniveśanāni cha chatvāri.*

4. *Donee*: No specific name has been given but brāhmaṇas of the Taittirīya *śākhā*, whether they have or do not have sons.

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: In the Kośika *mārga.*

6. *Scribe* (*S*) *or Dūtaka* (*D*): Prabhusiṁha (S), Devanandasvāmin (D).

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Dhāraṇa (for the Queen Prabhāvatīguptā). Parāśara (donees).

8. *Grant addressed to*: *grāmamahattaras* led by brāhmaṇas. This is slightly different from what we find in the last six inscriptions (no. 8-13) but is comparable with the mode given in no. 6, (see also fn. 82).

9. *Privileges granted*: As in no. 8, cf. *lines* 17-20.

10. *Deities*: Bhāgavata (for Prabhāvatīguptā) and Chandra Gupta II).

11. *Administrative divisions*: Kośika *mārga.*

12. *Terms of the grant*: As in no. 8. However, slight variation : *sadaṇḍanigṛahaṁ kariṣyāmaḥ.*[60]

NO. 15: INDOOR PLATES[61]

23rd year[62]

1. *Place of issue*: Missing but reference to *Vaijeyika dharmmasthāne* (*line* 12) has led Mirashi to believe that it may be Pravarapura.[64]

2. *Objective*: For augmenting his religious merit, life, power and royal fortune as well as for his well being in this world and the next, (*line* 11). Part of the merit may have accrued to the merchant Candra (cf. next column).

3. *Village donated*: Missing.[65] *Line* 20 gives very important evidence that a half of the *vāṭaka* (village) was purchased and donated to the brāhmaṇas by the merchant (*vāṇijaka*) Candra.[66]

4. *Donee*: Brāhmaṇa Goṇḍārya (s/o Viśākhārya and r/o Ārāmaka) and his six sons: Manorathārya, Govārya, Devārya, Bāppārya, Kumārārya and Droṇārya.

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: In the Gepūraka *mārga.* East of Kobidārikā, west of Añjanavāṭaka, north of Ārāmaka and south of Kośambaka.

6. *Scribe* (*S*) *or Dūtaka* (*D*): Koṭṭadeva (S) who was a *Rājuka.*[63]

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Vājikauśika (donees) (cf. also inscription No. 18).

8. *Grant addressed to*: As in no. 8.

9. *Privileges granted*: As in no. 8 except (a) which is not mentioned here, cf. *lines* 21-23.

10. *Deities*: Chakrapāṇi, Maheśwara, Pādamūla of Bhagavat=the lord of Rāmagiri mentioned in the previous inscription.

11. *Administrative divisions*: Gepūraka *mārga*.

12. *Terms of the grant*: As in no. 8.

NO. 16: DUDIA PLATES[67]
23rd year[68]

1. *Place of issue*: Pravarapura. Referred to as *Vaijeyika dharmmasthāna*, (*line* 15).

2. *Objective*: As in no. 8.

3. *Villages donated*: *Two villages*:

(a) 25 (*nivartanas*)[69] in Darbhamalaka.

(b) 60 (*nivartanas*)[69] in Karmmakāra (grants not made previously).

4. *Donee*: *Two different donees*:

(a) Yakṣārya was given Darbhamalaka.

(b) Kāliśarman got Karmmakāra.

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: Darbhamalaka in the Chandrapura *saṁgamikā* and Karmmakāra in the Hiraṇyapura *bhoga*.

6. *Scribe* (*S*) *or Dūtakā* (*D*): Goladāsa (S).

7. *Gotras mentioned*: In addition to Viṣṇuvṛddha are mentioned: Kauśika and Kauṇḍinya for the two donees.

8. *Grant addressed to*: As in no. 8 (officials of the Ārammi *rājya*).

9. *Privileges granted*: As in no. 8, cf. *lines* 18-21.

10. *Deities*: As in no. 8.

11. *Administrative divisions*:

(i) Chandrapura *saṁgamikā*.

(ii) Hiraṇyapura *bhoga*.

(iii) Ārammi *rājya*.

12. *Terms of the grant*: As in no. 8.

13. *Vedic sacrifices*: As in no. 8.

NO. 17: TRIODI PLATES[70]
23rd years[71]

1. *Place of issue*: Narattaṅgavāri. Unlike many other grants of Pravarasena II, there is no mention of *Vaijeyike dharmmasthāna*. This has led Mirashi to conclude that the place of issue was a *tīrtha*.[72]

2. *Objective*: As in no. 8.

3. *Village donated*: Kośambakhaṇḍa.

4. *Donee*: Brāhmaṇa Varuṇārya, an Atharvavedin and r/o Chāndrapura.

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: bounded on the east by Jamalī, on the west by Mṛigasima, on the north by Mallakapedhaka and on the south by Vardhamānaka.

6. *Scribe* (*S*) *Dūtaka* (*D*): *Rājyādhikṛta* (Chief Minister) and Chamidāsa.

7. *Gotras mentioned*: In addition to Viṣṇuvṛddha, Harkari *gotra* is mentioned in connection with the donee.

8. *Grant addressed to*: As in no. 8.

9. *Privileges granted*: As in no. 8, cf. *lines* 19-23.

10. *Deities*: As in no. 8.

11. *Administrative divisions*: *apara-paṭṭa* of Beṇṇākaṭa (see also Nos. 11 and 13 for references to settlements based on the Beṇṇā).

12. *Terms of the grant*: As in no. 8.

13. *Vedic sacrifices*: As in no. 8. The donee Varuṇārya was also proficient in three Vedas (cf. *line* 18).

NO. 18: WADGAON PLATES[73]
25th year[74]

1. *Place of issue*: Camp at Hiraṇyā. Referred to as *Vaijeyika dharmmasthāna* (*line* 20).

2. *Objective*: As in no. 8.

3. *Village donated*: 400 *nivartanas* by the royal measure (*rājamānena*) in Velusuka (grant not made previously).

4. *Donee*: Rudrāryya, *a vishuva-Vācanaka*[75] and r/o Ekārjunaka.

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: In the Supratiṣṭha *āhāra*. East of Gṛidhragrāma, west of Nīlīgrāma, north of Kokilāra and south of Kadambasaraka.

6. *Scribe* (*S*) *or Dūtaka* (*D*): Māradāsa (S).[76]

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Viṣṇuvṛddha. In addition, Vāji-Lohitya (for the donee).[77]

8. *Grant addressed to*: As in no. 8.

9. *Privileges granted*: As in no. 8, cf. *lines* 27-31.

10. *Deities*: As in no. 8.

11. *Administrative division*: Supratiṣṭha *āhāra* (see also Appendix IV, *supra* pp. 48-49).

12. *Terms of the grant*: As in no. 8.

13. *Vedic sacrifices*: As in no. 8.

NO. 19: YAVATMAL PLATES[78]
26th year[79]

3. *Village donated*: Land in Lāṭakapalli along with a couple of house sites (*niveśanadvyaṁ—line* 12)[80], which was already being enjoyed (*pūrvvabhujyamānikā—line* 12).[81]

4. *Donees*: Indrārya and Svāmideva of Taittirīya *śakhā* of the Black Yajurveda.

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: In Ṣaḍgṛśaka.

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Vatsa (for donees).

8. *Grant addressed to*: The donated village itself (*grāmovaktavyaḥ* in *lines* 10-11)[82] (see also fn. 114).

10. *Deities*: Incomplete details but Bhāraśivas, Maheśvara Śambhu, Chakrapāṇi mentioned in extant plates.

11. *Administrative divisions*: Ṣaḍgṛśaka.

13. *Vedic sacrifices*: No details available but perhaps all the ones which have usually been mentioned in the genealogy portions of Vākāṭaka inscriptions of Pravarasena II.

NO. 20: PATTAN PLATES[83]
27th year[84]

1. *Place of issue*: Pravarapura. Referred to as *vaijeyika dharmmasthāna* (*line* 28).

2. *Objective*: As in no. 8. In addition, the grant was also meant for maintaining the charitable feeding house (attached to the temple of) Mahāpuruṣa (Viṣṇu)[85], cf. *mahāpuruṣapādāmūlasatropayojyāni* (*lines* 22-3).

3. *Village donated*: 400 *nivartanas* of land by the royal measure (*rājakyamānena*) in Aśvatthakheṭaka at the request of Nārāyaṇarāja (*lines* 20-23), (grant not made previously).

4. *Donee*: None mentioned specifically but could be the temple of Viṣṇu, whose charitable feeding house was one of the objectives of the grant.

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: In the Varadākheṭa *mārga*, which was included in the Lohanagara *bhoga*.

6. *Scribe* (*S*) *or Dūtaka* (*D*): Written by Kālidāsa, engraved by goldsmith Īśvaradatta who was a servant of Kauṇḍarāja.[86]

7. *Gotras mentioned*:As in the genealogy portions of other inscriptions of Pravarasena II.

8. *Grant addressed to*: As in no. 8. In addition are mentioned the

residents of the donated village led by brāhmaṇas—cf. fn. 82 and 115.

9. *Privileges granted*: As in no. 8, cf. *lines* 30-33.

10. *Deities*: As in no. 8. See also the column of objective.

11. *Administrative divisions*: Varadākheṭa *mārga*; Lohanagara *bhoga*.

12. *Terms of the grant*: As in no. 8.

13. *Vedic sacrifices*: As in no. 8.

NO. 21: PĀṆDHURṆĀ PLATES[87]

29th year[88]

1. *Place of issue*: Pravareśvara *devakula*.[89] Referred to as, *Vaijeyike dharmmasthāna*.

2. *Objective*: As in no. 8.

3. *Villages donated*: *Three donations*.[90]: (a) 2000 *nivartanas* by the royal measure (*rājamānena*) in Dhuvavāṭaka *in exchange for*[91] Vijaya-pallīvāṭaka which was donated by Pṛithivīrāja, i.e. Pṛithivīṣeṇa I (*lines* 19-23).

(b) 25 *nivartanas* by the royal measure together with one *nivartana* for residence in *Lekhapallikā* (*lines* 26-28).

(c) 25 *nivartanas* by the royal measure together with one *nivartana* for residence in *Saṁgamikā* (*lines* 29-32) (gift not previously made).

4. *Donees*: (a) for Dhuvavāṭaka several brāhmaṇas of different *gotras* and *Charaṇas—nānāgotra-Charanebhyoḥ*.[92] The prominent amongst these were Yajñārya, Bhojārya, Somārya and Dharmārya—all of the Vājasaneyī *śākhā*.

For donations: (b) & (c):

Somārya of the Vājasaneyī *śākhā* and the resident of Kāllāra.

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: (a) for Dhuvavāṭaka: situated in the Vāruchcha *rājya*. The donated village lies in the low ground by the western boundary of the village Brāhmaṇavāṭaka, to the north of the way to the village Ajakarṇa, to the east of the village Badarī and to the west of Darbhapatha.

(b) for Lekhpallikā: situated in the Ārammi *rājya*.

(c) for Saṁgamika: Situated in the Ārammi *rājya*.

6. *Scribe* (*S*) *or Dūtaka* (*D*): Āchārya (S), who was also the scribe of the Siwani plates (cf. no. 13).

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Viṣṇuvṛddha (for Pravarasena I) and Kauṇḍinya for 4/5 donees mentioned by name. In addition, there is a general reference to "several *gotras*" (*line* 23).

8. *Grant addressed to*: As in no. 8.
9. *Privileges granted*: As in no. 8, cf. *lines* 37-41.
10. *Deities*: As in no. 8.
11. *Administrative divisions*: Vāruchcha *rājya* and Ārammi-*rājya*.
12. *Terms of the grant*: As in no. 8.
13. *Vedic sacrifices*: As in no. 8.

NO. 22: MASODA PLATES[93]
19th year[94]

1. *Place of issue*: Pravarapura. Referred to as *Vaijayike dharamma-sthāna* (*line* 34).

2. *Objective*: As in no. 8.

3. *Village donated*: Name not given but 300 (*nivartanas*) by the *rājamānika-mānena* (*bhūmi-śatatraya*, *line* 20). Land not previously granted. Grant made at the request of the chief queen (*bhāryāmahā-devi*, *line* 20), whose name is not given.

4. *Donees*: The donated land was divided into 25 house-sites (*line*-29), of which two shares were given to *apratigrāhin Mahāpuruṣa*.[95] The remainder was given to the following donees[96]: Boppāryya, Viṣṇu vārya, Aratyārya, Bhavāryya, Bhavaputrāryya, Golāryya, Śrīyāryya, Boppāryya, Nārāyaṇāryya, Achalaryya, Devāryya, Dāmāryya, Keśavāryya, Kumārāryya, Dāmāryya, Golāryya, Koṭṭāryya, Rudrā-ryya and Golāryya.[97]

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: The donated land lay to the north-west/west (differently mentioned in *lines* 19 and 29) of Matsakadraha in the low-lying area (*gartta-sabhāmadhye*, *line* 28)[98] of the river Rājatintiṇika situated in the *apara-mārga* of Padmapura.

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Viṣṇuvṛddha (for Pravarasena I). For donees: seven *gotras* are mentioned for 19 donees: Bhāradvāja, Parāśara, Kāśyapa, Kauśika, Kauṇḍinya, Vatsa and Gautama.

8. *Grant addressed to*: As in no. 8. The grant was made by the king by his own order (*sva-mukha-ājñā*, *line* 44).

9. *Privileges granted*: As in no. 8. cf. lines 34-37, 42-3. However, *Chāturvvedya maryyādā parihārān vitarāmaḥ* and *akaradāyī* occurs at a slightly later context than in the beginning of the list of exemp-tions. (This feature is comparable to the sequence of *parihāras* in the Mandhal grants of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II—cf. nos. 29 and 30).

10. *Deities*: As in no. 8.
11. *Administrative divisions*: *apara-nārga* of Padmapura.

12. *Terms of the grant*: As in no. 8.
13. *Vedic sacrifices*: As in no. 8.

NO. 23: PAUNI PLATES[99]
32nd year[100]

1. *Place of issue*: Pravarapura. Also called *Vaijayike dharmmasthāna.*

2. *Objective*: As in no. 8.

3. *Village donated*: 50 *nivartanas* by the royal measure (*rājakyamānena, line* 20) *in exchange for* some other land (*bhūmiprativastuṁ, line* 19)[101], (grant not made previously).

4. *Donee*: Durggāryya.

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: In Kṛṣṇāleśālikaṭaka in *dharmmasthāna* Achalapura.

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Viṣṇuvṛddha (for Pravarasena I). Bhavṛicha-Aupamanya (donee).

8. *Grant dddressed to*: As in no. 8.
9. *Privileges granted*: As in no. 8, cf. *lines* 27-31.
10. *Deities*: As in no. 8.
11. *Administrative divisions*: Achalapura (?) Kṛṣṇāleśālikaṭaka (?)
12. *Terms of the grant*: As in no. 8.
13. *Vedic sacrifices*: As in no 8.

NO. 24: PATNA MUSEUM PLATES[102]
Date not available

2. *Objective*: Grant made by the king for the accumulation of religious merit and for well being in this world and the next *of his mother* (*mātṛi-bhaṭṭārika, line* 7).

3. *Village donated*: Śrīparṇakā *in exchange for previously donated* Māṇapallikā, which lay in the Yaśapura *mārga* (*pūrvvaparigṛihaprativastu, line* 6).[103] (Reason for exchange not stated).

4. *Donee*: Gaṅgāryya, s/o Vedāryya; Vasurāryya and Rudrāryya. The last one is mentioned as belonging to the Taittirīya *śākhā.*

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: In the Sundhāti *mārga* and lay to the east of Brahmapuraka, west of Millukadratha, north of Madhukajjharī and south of Darbhaviraka.

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Bhāradvāja and Kauṇḍinya (donees).

8. *Grant addressed to*: *kūṭumbino grāmavāsinaśchavaktavyāḥ* (*line* 5) (the house holders and residents of the village).[104]

9. *Privileges granted*: No details are available. However, like the

Siwani plates (no. 13), this also refers to *sapañchāśātko*.[105]

10. *Deities*: Śambhu.

11. *Administrative divisions*: Sundhāti *mārga* and Yaśapura *mārga*.

NO. 25: RAMTEK PLATES[106]
Date not available

2. *Objective*: As in no. 8.

8. *Grant addressed to*: As in no. 8.

9. *Privileges granted*: As in no. 8, except (a) and (c). cf. *lines* 3-7.

12. *Terms of the grant*: As in no. 8 but no reference to *sadaṇḍa nigṛahaṁ kuryyāma* or any of its variation.

NO. 26: MAHURZARAI PLATES[107]

(C) POST-PRAVARASENA II PERIOD
(*c.* AD 450-495)

No. 27: DURG PLATES[108]
ISSUER (?)[109]
Date not available

1. *Place of issue*: Padmapura. Since the word *vāsakāt* is not added, it cannot be taken as donor's camp.

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Viṣṇuvṛddha (for Pravarasena I).

10. *Deities*: Māhabhairava, Śiva.

13. *Vedic sacrifices*: Agniṣṭoma, Āptoryyāma, Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, Atirātra Vājapeya, Bṛihaspatisava, Sādyaskara, four aśvamedhas (all by Pravarasena I) and ten aśvamedhas by Bhāraśivas.

NO. 28: BALAGHAT PLATES[110]
PṚITHIVĪṢEṆA II (*c.* AD 475-495)
Date of the inscription not available[111]

1. *Place of issue*: Camp at Vembāra.

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Viṣṇuvṛddha (for Pravarasena I).

8. *Grant addressed to*: Our (officers of noble birth) appointed by the *sarvādhyakṣa* . . . (The subsequent portion of the grant is not available).

10. *Deities*: As in no. 8. Pṛithivīṣeṇa II is also described as a *paramabhāgavata*.

13. *Vedic sacrifices*: As in no. 27.

NO. 29: MANDHAL PLATES 'A'[113]
PṚITHIVĪṢEṆA II (*c.* AD 475-495)
2nd year[113]

1. *Place of issue*: Rāmagiri.[114] Also called *Vaijayike dharmmasthāna* (*line* 26).

2. *Objective*: As in no. 8. In addition is mentioned the religious merit of Ajjhikkabhaṭṭārikā, the mother of the donor (*line* 21). This is comparable to the objective of the Patna Museum plates, cf. above inscription no. 24.

3. *Village donated*: Kuruvajjaka (grant not made previously).

4. *Donees*: Three brāhmaṇas—Maheśvarāsvāmī, Agnisavāmī and Brahmasvāmī—sons of Mātṛisvāmī and grandsons of Droṇasvāmī. All belonged to the Taittirīya *śākhā* of the Yajurveda (cf. *infra*, fn. 119).

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: In the *uttarapaṭṭa* and situated to the east of the river Beṇṇā, west of Lavaṇatailaka, north of Iṣṭākapallī and south of Govvasāhikā.

6. *Scribe* (*S*) *or Dūtaka* (*D*): Śarvadatta (S).

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Viṣṇuvṛddha (for Pravarasena I) Kautsa (for donees).

8. *Grant addressed to*: As in no. 8 and *brāhmaṇa purogā grāmapativāsino kuṭumbinaścha vaktavyāḥ*—residents, peasants and elders of the village led by brāhmaṇas.[115]

9. *Privileges granted*: As in no. 8, cf. *lines* 26-29 and 33-34. Privileges (a) and (c) have been mentioned separately in lines 33-34, possibly by mistake.[116] This is, however, comparable to the sequence of *parihāras* given in the Masoda plates of Pravarasena II (cf. above no. 22) as well as the second Mandhal inscription of the present king (cf. no. 30 below).

10. *Deities*: As in no. 8.

11. *Administrative division*: *Uttarapaṭṭa*.

12. *Terms of the grant*: As in no. 8.

13. *Vedic sacrifices*: As in no. 8.

NO. 30 : MANDHAL PLATES 'B'[117]
PṚITHIVĪṢEṆA II (*c.* AD 475-95)
10th year[118]

1. *Place of issue*: Beṇṇātaṭasthāna called *Vaijayike dharmmasthāna* (*line* 30).

2. *Objective*: As in no. 8.

3. *Village donated*: Govvasāhikā (grant not made previously).

4. *Donee*: Four brāhmaṇas.
(a) Maheśvarasvāmī,
(b) Brahmāsvmāī.
(c) Harasvāmī and (d) Varāhasvāmī. All were residents of Beṇṇātaṭaka.[119]

5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: In the Uttarapaṭṭa and situated to the east of the Beṇṇā, west of Śulkavaṭa, north of Kurubheñjñaka and south of Piḍerıkā.

6. *Scribe* (*S*) *or Dūtaka* (*D*): As in 29.

7. *Gotras mentioned*: As in 29. In addition, Tatsagotra is used as an adjective for donees (b) and (c).

8. *Grant addressed to*: As in no. 8.

9. *Privileges granted*: As in no. 8, cf. *lines* 30-33 and 38. Special features noticeable in the earlier Mandhal record of the present king and the Masoda plates of Pravarasena II are repeated here (cf. *supra* nos. 22 and 29).

10. *Deities*: As in no. 8.

11. *Administrative divisions*: Uttarapaṭṭa.

12. *Terms of the grant*: As in no. 8.

13. *Vedic sacrifices*: As in no. 8.

NO. 31: MAHURJHARI PLATES[120]
PṚITHIVĪṢEṆA II (*c.* AD 475-95)
17th year[121]

1. *Place of issue*: Pṛithivīsamudra – called *Vaijayike dharmmasthāna* (*lines* 31-2).

2. *Objective*: As in no. 8.

3. *Village do ated*: Jamalakheṭaka.

4. *Donees*: Viṣṇudatta and Bhavadatta of the Vājasaneyī (*śākhā*).

5. *Geographical delimitations of the donation*: In the Jamalakheṭeka *mārga* included in the Surambī *rājya*. The donated village was to the east of Nāndīpūraka, west of Somadaryya, north of Jalakutkubhaka and south of Ubbhilaka.

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Viṣṇuvṛddha (for Pravarasena I) and Kāśyapa (for donees).

8. *Grant addressed to*: As in no. 8.

9. *Privileges granted*: As in no. 8, cf. *lines* 36-41.

10. *Deities*: As in no. 8.

11. *Administrative divisions*: Jamalakheṭaka *mārga* and Surambi *rājya*.

12. *Terms of the grant*: As in no. 8.
13. *Vedic sacrifices*: As in no. 8.

NO. 32: INDIA OFFICE PLATES[122]
DEVASENA (VATSGULMA BRANCH)
(*c.* AD 450-70)

1. *Place of issue*: Vatsagulma.
2. *Objective*: To record the grant of a village.
3. *Village donated*: Yappajja.
4. *Donees*: Dharmasvāmī and Bhavasvāmī.
5. *Geographical delimitation of the donation*: situated in the Nāṅgarkaṭaka in the Uttara *mārga.*
7. *Gotras mentioned*: Śāṇḍilya.
8. *Grant addressed to*: Touring officers of noble birth such as soldiers, *Bhojakas* and Daṇḍanāyakas.
11. *Administrative divisions*: Uttara *mārga.*

NO. 33: HISSE-BORALA[123]
DEVASENA (*c.* AD 458-59)
Śaka year 380[124]

2. *Objective*: Construction of lake Sudarśana by ārya Svāmilla-deva—*ājñākara* (executive officer) of Devasena—for the welfare of all living beings. Bappaka was the adviser for the construction of this work.

NO. 34: THALNER PLATES[125]
HARIṢEṆA (VATSAGULMA BRANCH)
3rd year[126]

3. *Village donated*: ***Five donations***: $20\frac{1}{2}$ (*nivartanas*) each in[127]
   (a) Govachchhetaṭigrāma.
   (b) Kāṁsakārakagrāma.
   (c) Suvarṇakāragrāma.

In Addition to these:

   (d) Bhaṭṭikāpadra.
   (e) Kumāradāsavāṭaka.

4. *Donees*: Devasvāmī, Gaṅgasvāmī, Varāhasvāmī, Bhaṭṭārāka-svāmī, Khūḍasvāmī and Dharasvāmī.
5. *Geographical delimitation of donations*: (a) Govachchhetaṭi-grāma lay in the Ānarttapura *bhukti.*
   (b) Kāṁsakārakagrāma was situated in the Ānarttapura *bhukti.*
   (c) Suvarṇakāragrāma was also situated in the Ānarttapura *bhukti.*

(d) Bhaṭṭikāpadra lay to the east of Jātikkheṭaka and west of Vaṭālikā.

(e) Kumāradāsavāṭaka lay in the Vaṁśīvāhalī on the south bank of the river Mayasinī and was also situated east of Chhabbilānaka and west of Bodrakānaka.

6. *Scribe* (*S*) *or Dūtaka* (*D*): Boppadeva (S) and Svāmiladeva (D).

7. *Gotras mentioned*: Viṣṇuvṛddha (for Pravarasena I) Padañchal (for donees).

9. *Privileges granted*: No mention of these.

10. *Deities*: Hārīti.

11. *Administrative divisions*: Ānarttapura *bhukti*.

13. *Vedic sacrifices*: As in no. 8.

(D) MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MINISTERS AND FEUDATORIES OF THE VATSAGULMA BRANCH

NO. 35: AJANTA CAVE INSCRIPTIONS OF VARĀHADEVA[128]
Undated[129]

2. *Objective*: To record the dedication of a cave-dwelling (*veśma*) decorated with pillars, picture galleries, sculptures, etc. to the Buddhist *saṁgha*. The donation was for the religious merit of donor's parents. (*verses*, 20-25)

10. *Deities*: Indra, Upendra (Viṣṇu), Rāma, Hara, Nāga Rāja Sugata.

12. *Terms of the grant*: "As longs the sun shines with rays red like fresh red arsenic, even so long may this spotless cave containing an excellent hall (*maṇḍapa*) dedicated to the three *ratnas*, be enjoyed." (*verse*, 31).

NO. 36: GHAṬOTKACHA CAVE INSCRIPTION[130]
VARĀHADEVA (?)
Undated[131]

2. *Objective*: To record the excavation of the *vihāra* cave by Varāhadeva (?)

7. *Gotras mentioned*.[132]

11. *Deities*: Buddha and Brahmā.

NO. 37: INSCRIPTION IN AJANTA CAVE XVI[133]
Undated

2. *Objective*: To record the excavation of the *vihāra* cave (XVII) and the *gandhakuṭi* cave (XIX) at Ajanta.

3. *Village donated*: "He caused to be dug a large cistern pleasing to the eyes and filled with sweet, light, clear, cold water" (*verse* 26). . . .

10. *Deities*: Buddha.

Note: Inscriptions at s.nos. 1-4 and 35-37 have very little to offer as far as the study of the agrarian structure of the Vākāṭakas is concerned. Though the Bamhani plates of Bharatabala (*CII*, V, pp. 82-88) have very useful details from that point of view, it is now being increasingly realized that this grant is not concerned with the Vākāṭakas in any way. We have, therefore, excluded it from our survey.

References

[1]First noticed in 1935. Published: *ASR*, VII, pp. 123-25; *CII*, I (First edition, pp. 28-29; V.V. Mirashi in *PTAIOC*, 1935, pp. 63f; *CII*, V, pp. 1-4. On the same slab was an inscription of Aśoka's fourteenth year, probably issued by his *Dharmamahāmātra* and proclaiming a ban on animals' sacrifice.

[2]Mirashi ascribes the inscription to Rudrasena I and, therefore, to the fourth century of the Christian era. There is , however , a growing possibility that it may belong to Rudrasena II. (*c.* AD 400-05).

[3]It is also mentioned in the above-mentioned Aśokan inscription and is identical with the village Chikmara , which in its turn is near Deotek (about 60 kms SE of Nagpur).

[4]Published: *ASR* , XXI , pp. 97f ; Fleet in *CII* , III, pp. 233f; *CII* , V, pp. 89-91

[5]Mirashi is of the opinion that this Vyāghradeva belonged to the Uchchhakalpa dynasty and was , therefore , a feudatory of Pṛithivīseṇa II. His main argument for this is his conviction that there is no evidence of any early rule of the Vākāṭakas north of the Vindhyas, cf. *CII*, V, pp. xii-xiii and 89-91.

[6]Since we do not accept Mirashi's arguments regarding the identification of Pṛithivīseṇa of these inscriptions with Pṛithivīṣeṇa II, the dates suggested by him for these inscriptions (i.e. *c.* AD 470-90) also remain unconvincing .

[7]Discovered in 1919. Published : *EI*, XVII, 1923-24, pp. 12-14 ; *CII*, V, p. 92 ; see also *EI*, XVII, 1923-24, p. 362 and *SI*, pp. 456-57.

[8]Cf. fn. 5.

[9]Cf. fn. 6.

[10]The plates have yet to be edited and published. For a short notice, however, see *IAR, 1981-82*, p 81. See also fn. 12 below.

[11]This is the first definite record of this king discovered so far and proves that he ruled for at least five years. Other details are incomplete but it is clear that it has *season dates*. For the significance of this, cf. fns. 25 and 88.

[12]This information is based on a short notice in Malati Mahajan, 'Administrative Divisions under Vākāṭakas', for its fuller bibliographic details, see Appendix IV, fn. 13. None of these villages are identified satisfactorily

[13]This is very interesting. The donated villages were far removed from this place, cf. Map no. 2.

[14]Though found with a copper smith of Poona, the plates seem to have originally belonged to the Hinganghat area of the Wardha district of Maharashtra. Most of the places mentioned in these plates are to be located in this area. The plates have been published in *IA*, XLI, pp. 214-25; *EI*, XV, 1919-20, pp. 39-44; *CII*, V, pp. 5-9; *SI*, I, 1965, pp. 435-38. The inscription is the only Vākāṭaka record, whose characters are not the box-headed type and are generally of the nail-headed variety. However, few letters are box-headed.

[15]Chief queen of Rudrasena II and mother of *Yuvarāja* Divākarasena, whose regent she was. This, as well as the Riddhapur plates (no. 14) are noticeable for the genealogy of the Guptas.

[16]The plates were issued on twelfth day of the *śuklapakṣa* of the month of Kārttika (after observing fast on a preceding *Prabodhinī Ekādaśī*), cf. *CII*, V, p. 6.

[17]Fleet thought that this and other similar expressions reserved certain rights to the villagers against grantees (*CII*, III, p. 242, fn. 1), Mirashi does not accept this and thinks that donees were exempted from the "duty of feeding and lodging royal officers during their stay in the village" (*CII*, V, p. 9, fn. 2). For later references to comparable notices, cf. *vasati daṇḍa* (*EI*, XXV, 1939-40, p. 225) and *a-taṇa-kaṭṭha-gahaṇam in* the Hirahaḍagalli plates, *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp. 2-10.

[18]Some grants add *lavaṇa* before *kiṇva*.

[19]K.B. Pathak and K.N. Dikshit read *a-paśu medhyaḥ* in line 17 (*EI*, XV, 1919-20, pp. 39-44) and translated it, 'not to have an animal sacrifice' but Mirashi insists on the reading as *akhani medhyaḥ*.

[20]Mirashi quotes Kauṭilya who mentions *kḷipta* in the sense of 'fixed assessmen but himself takes it to mean "land tax" and *upakḷipta* as miscellaneous taxes in cash or kind. He adds that these terms correspond to *bhāga* and *bhoga* which occur in grants of Bharatabala and the kings of Śarabhapura. Cf. *CII*, V, p. 9, fn. 5. See also our general note on Bharatabala's inscription at the end of this Appendix.

[21]It is not clear whether this meant a fine in cash or kind.

[22]In the sixth line the inscription refers to *aneka gohiraṇya-koṭisahasraprada* (repeated in the fifth line of inscription no. 14), which Mirashi has translated as "who (Samudra Gupta) has donated many thousands of crores of cows and gold (*coins*)." Even if this restoration in paranthesis is accepted, it would simply be a eulogy of queen Prabhāvatī Guptā's paternal ancestors rather than the indication of coinage under the Vākāṭakas. See also our fn. 12 on p. 31.

[23]Published, *PIHC*, 3rd session, 1939, pp. 459f; *EI*, XXVI, 1941-42, pp. 137-55; *CII*, V, pp. 93-100. See also *IHQ*, XVI, pp. 182f; *SI*, pp. 430-35. The language of the inscription needs a detailed comment. The genealogical portion of the grant (*lines* 1-5) is in Sanskrit and the formal portion that follows, is in Prakrit. But the benedictory sentence at the end is again in Sanskrit. It is note-

worthy that as in early Prakrit inscriptions of the Pallavas and Bṛahatphalāyanas there are no benedictive or imprecatory verses at the end. This is one of the few copperplate grants from south India, which contains a detailed portion in Prakrit.

[24]He belonged to the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭakas. He is described as the grandson of Pravarasena (I) and is not to be confused with the founder of the dynasty mentioned in the Purāṇas and in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta. Vindhyaśakti has also been described as *Hārītiputra* and *Dharmamahārāja*, which is attributed to the Kadamba influence, cf. *CII*, V, p. 95.

[25]The year has been expressed in numerical symbols and the grant was issued on the fourth day of the first *pakṣa* (fortnight) of the month of *Hemanta* (winter). This is the earliest reference to season dates in Vākāṭaka inscriptions. Cf. also nos. 5, 16, 19, 21, 22, 29, 30 and 34.

[26]Referred to as *vijayavejayike* (*line* 8). Mirashi says that this seems to be misplaced and that in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions it qualifies *dharmmasthāne* when the grant was made at the capital. Accordingly, he describes Vatsagulmā as "victorious place of religious worship" (*CII*, V, p. 99, fn. 1).

[27]This is mentioned as Viṣṇuvṛddha in other Vākāṭaka inscriptions which is the correct form as it has been given in standard works on *gotras* and *pravaras*.

[28]Other Vākāṭaka records mention Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin and Atirātra in place of Jyotiṣṭoma. The present inscription credits Vindhyaśakti with the performance of almost the same number of identical sacrifices as those mentioned in connection with Pravarasena I in all other Vākāṭaka grants.

[29]The name of the village is given in the plural, cf. Valūrakesu in inscription no. 13 at Karle, *EI*, VII, 1902-3, p. 57.

[30]Prakrit names of donees are quite distinctive. In some other Vākāṭaka inscriptions, name of donees very often end in *āryya*.

[31]A brāhmaṇa of this Veda is mentioned as the donee in the Tirodi plates of of Pravarasena II, cf. no. 17 too.

[32]D.C. Sircar translated the relevant expression as, "not to be administered as other parts of the kingdom" (*SI*, p. 434, fn. 1).

[33]In former times it was considered to be the duty of villagers to supply means of transport for the touring royal officers. Sometimes a small tax, called *prayāṇa daṇda* was levied for the purpose. But use of the word *go* in addition to *balivarad* in Vākāṭaka grants rather indicates that the villagers were exempted from the obligation of giving to the state the first calf—male or female— of every cow in the village. Besides, exemption from supplying the means of conveyance has been mentioned as *avaha* (*line* 23), cf. *CII*, V, p. 99, fn. 6.

[34]*Veṇesika* is probably derived from *vaināsika* which dictionaries give in the sense of "a slave, a dependent or a subject".

[35]Discovered in 1940 in Jamb, a village about 11 km north by east of Hinganghat of the Wardha district in Maharashtra. Published earlier by Mirashi as the Kothuraka grant in *EI*, XXVI, 1941-42, pp. 155-61. Also included in *CII*, V, pp. 10-15.

[36]Issued on the twelfth day of the bright (fortnight) of the month of Āśvayuj (Āśvin). As the donee is called *gaṇa-yājin*, Mirashi has conjectured that the

grant was made on the occasion of a *gaṇa-yāga*—sacrifice to the gaṇas. The *Manusmṛti* (III.164) enjoins that a sacrificer of the Gaṇas should be avoided at a *śrāddha*. Baudhāyana's *Dharmasūtra*, however, enjoins that a brāhmaṇa is allowed to perform *gaṇa-homa* for his teacher, father and mother only. Naturally, few persons must have come forward for fear of getting tainted by guilt and those who did it, received a high reward. The donee of this grant seems to have performed such a *gaṇahoma* for Pravarasena II and got the village as his sacrificial fee. Cf. Mirashi, *CII*, V, p. 11.

[37]Cf. inscription no. 7, fn. 26.

[38]Discovered in Belora, a village in the Arvi tahsil of the Wardha district and situated on the bank of the Wardha, about 10 km south by east of Morsi. Published, *EI*, XXIV, 1937-38, pp. 260-67; *CII*, V, pp. 16-21.

[39]Since this inscription and the next one (no. 10: Belora plates 'B') appear to be palimpsests, one can take them to be complementary to each other. It may, therefore, be conjectured that this inscription was also issued in the eleventh year, which is mentioned in the set 'B'. Mirashi, however, postulated a gap (not exceeding ten years) between the two Belora plates, cf. *CII*, V, p. 17.

[40]Cf. fn. 38 above. Both these Belora plates are incomplete, but Mirashi rules out the possibility of the plates 'B' being a forgery, cf. *CII*, V, p. 17 and fn. 2. Again, both these plates mention Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya, the maternal grandfather of Pravarasena II, as Devagupta, just as we find in the Jamb plates (no. 8).

[41]Issued on the thirteenth day of the *śuklapakṣa* of the month of Kārttika when *Senāpati* was Chitravarman. The same *Senāpati* is mentioned in the Chammak plates of Pravarasena II issued in his eighteenth year.

[42]This is evidently the same as Mahalla-Lāṭa in the inscription no. 9. The repetition has been explained by suggesting that the donee (common to both inscriptions—9 and 10) probably made a request to the king to give him a consolidated charter for the two grants.

[43]Cf. *CII*, V, p. 20, fn. 6.

[44]Mandhal lies at a distance of about 75 km SE of Nagpur in the Umrer tahsil of the Nagpur district. Excavations were conducted here between 1975 and 1977. Diggings at the mound called Bholahudki Tekdi, lying about 1.5 km from the village of Mandhal yielded these plates in a pot. The find was reported in *IAR*, *1975-76*, p. 63; *1976-77*, p. 60. It has recently been published by Ajay Mitra Shastri in the *VSMA 1977*, 1978, pp. 149-57.

[45]The grant was made in the month of Kārttika of the sixteenth year of the king (*line* 19). However, lines 43-44 tell us that the grant was issued on the tenth day of the *bahulapakṣa* of the Kārttika in the seventeenth year. This gap of one year is explained as the year of the grant and the year of engraving and issuing of the order of the grant. The grant was issued when Chitravarman was the *Senāpati*, who is also mentioned in inscriptions nos. 10 and 12.

[46]The two Belora plates of Pravarasena II, as noted above (nos. 9 and 10), were issued from Nandivardhanā, while his Chammak plates (see no. 12) were issued from Pravarapura in his eighteenth year. The Mandhal plates advance the transfer of the Vākāṭaka capital from Nandivardhanā to Pravarapura by two years.

[47]Though the father of the donee is not mentioned by name here but a cross-refercnce to the Mandhal plates of the second year of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II indicates that his actual name was Droṇasvāmī.

[48]Found in about 1868 at Chammak, a village about 7 km SW of Achalpur in Vidarbha. Published, Pamphlet no. 9 of *ASWI*, pp. 54f; *ASWI*, IV, pp. 116f; *IA*, XII, pp. 239; Fleet's ed. *CII*, III, pp. 235f; *CII*, V, pp. 22-27; SI, pp. 442-49, Bühler had edited it in *ASWI*, IV under the name of Ellichpur grant.

[49]Issued on the thirteenth day of the *śuklapakṣa* of the month of Jyeṣṭha when the *Senāpati* was Chitravarman. For earlier references to this *Senāpati*, Cf. nos. 10 and 11.

[50]See fn. 46 above

[51]There is a slight contradiction in Mirashi's translation of the relevant line and his introductory remarks. For details, see our fn. 23 (m) on p. 32. For a discussion of *nivartana's* equivalence too, cf. the same. As per the details of the present plates, this land was measured according to the "royal measure" (*rājā-mānika*— its variations have also been pointed out above, cf. *supra*, p. 7).

[52]This Koṇḍarāja is also mentioned in the 45th line of the Pattan plates (no. 20).

[53]An analysis of personal names in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions can reveal interesting insights into the process of brahmanisation of tribal areas through the mechanism of land grants, cf. also *supra*, pp. 26-8.

[54]Brought to notice in 1836. Published: *JASB*, V, 1836, pp. 726f; Fleet's *CII*, III, p. 243f; *CII*, V, pp. 28-32.

[55]Issued on the twelfth day of the *śuklapakṣa* of the month of Phālguna when the *Senāpati* was Bāppadeva.

[56]To Mirashi, its meaning is not clear. Apart from some of the suggestions made above (*supra*, p. 9), could it be argued that the term is comparable with *sakāru* mentioned in the Chandella and Orissan inscriptions? Kāru, as per lexicons, means "artisans." If so, it would indicate the donation of land along-with its resident artisans.

[57]Cf. *supra*, p. 8.

[58]The inscription, though dated in the regnal year of Pravarasena II, was issued by Prabhāvatī Guptā. She is described in the inscription as the mother of Dāmodarasena-Pravarasena identified with Pravarasena II. The inscription is particularly noticeable, among other things, for the following peculiarities:

(i) Unlike other Vākāṭaka inscriptions, this one does not begin with *dṛiṣṭam*, which is missing.

(ii) The introductory portion of the inscription gives the genealogy of the Guptas and not that of the Vākāṭakas. Though this is true of the Poona plates as well (cf. *supra*, plate no. 6), it is difficult to justify in the present case. The Poona *praśasti* was issued when the Queen was the regent but the Riddhapur inscription belongs to the grown-up king who had been ruling for nearly two decades. It is equally interesting to note that even in respect of the Gupta genealogy, the *mahādevī* refers to only Chandra Gupta (II) as *mahārājādhirāja*, whereas all other Gupta kings, including Samudra Gupta are described as as simply *mahārāja*. Samudra Gupta is not even mentioned

as the performer of horse sacrifices. The inscription was published first in the *Bharat Itihas Samshodhaka Mandal Quarterly*, III, nos. 2-4, pp. 89f. Other publications of the inscription include *JPASB* (*NS*), XX, pp. 53f; *CII*, V, pp. 33-37 ; *SI*, pp. 439-42.

[59]Issued on the twelfth day of the *śuklapakṣa* of the month of Kārttika, perhaps on the occasson of the *pāraṇā* of Queen Prabhāvatī's fast on the preceding *Prabodhinī Ekādaśī*. This *tithi* is comparable with that of the Poona plates (cf. no. 6 above).

[60]Cf. fns. 21 and 22 above.

[61]As the first plate of the inscription is lost, the genealogy of the early Vākāṭakas and the place of issue are missing. The grant has been published, *EI*, XXIV, 1937-38, pp. 52-56; *CII*, V, pp. 38-42.

[62]Issued on the fifth day of the *bahula* (*Kṛṣṇapakṣa*) of the month of Vaiśākha.

[63]*Rajjuka* as a revenue official, sort of a settlement officer, has been known since the time of Aśoka. It is not improbable that the scribe of the present grant was also such an officer.

[64]This is not a very convincing reason for this epithet has been used in the context of non-capital centres as well. One is not sure if it was used exclusively for capitals. The camp at Hiraṇyā (Wadgaon plates of Pravarasena II), Rāmagiri (Mandhal plates of the year 2 of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II) and Beṇṇāṭaṭasthāna (Mandhal plates of the year 10 of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II) have all been called *vaijayikesthanā* but they cannot be regarded as capitals in the same sense as one takes Nandivardhanā and Pravarapura.

[65]Recently Chandrashekhar Gupta has argued that Mirashi was not correct in assuming that the name of the doanted village was missing. Nor does he accept that reference to Viśākhāryyavāṭaka in line 14 of these plates is a careless mistake of putting the name of donees' ancestor twice (also mentioned in the next line). While one may accept Gupta's contention that place-names after influential people are not improbable, at least two such illustrations from Vākāṭaka inscriptions cited by him are not clearly so, e.g. Pavarajjavāṭaka and Yappajja. Also, from grammatical point of view "*Viśākhāryyavāṭakasya Ārāmakavāstavya . . .*" would be slightly misplaced if it is taken as a place-name. For Gupta's view, see "A Note on Viśākhāryavāṭaka", *Studies in Indian Place Names*, I, 1979, pp. 92-94. Incidentally, even Gupta has refrained from identifying it.

[66]This is perhaps the only instance in Vākāṭaka inscriptions where a donation has been made by a merchant. Pravarasena II records that he has recorded the gift which was previously made (*line* 17) but at another place (*line* 18) he says that the village has been granted to the brāhmaṇas as a fresh gift. One may therefore, suppose that Candra purchased some village, donated it and later requested the king to confirm the gift through the charter. The king seems to have given the other half of the village for his own religious merit.

[67]Published: *EI*, III, 1894-95, pp. 258-62; *CII*, V, pp. 43-47.

[68]Issued on tenth day of the fourth fortnight of the rainy season while Namidāsa was the *Senāpati*. It is one of the many season dates to be found in

Vākāṭaka inscriptions. Generally, these dates are in the lunar months and *tithis*. For season dates in Vākāṭaka inscriptions, cf. also nos. 5, 7, 19, 21, 22, 29, 30 and 34.

[69]In lines 16 and 17. The figures of land (*bhūmi*) given here are probably in *nivartanas*. Such expressions are found in some other Vātāṭaka inscriptions as well, cf. the Chammak plates (no. 12).

[70]Found at the manganese mines of Tirodi, over 12 km SE of Katangi in the Balaghat district of Madhya Pradesh. Published, *EI*, XXII, 1933-34, pp. 167-76; *CII*, V, pp. 48-52.

[71]Issued on the twelfth day of the *bahulapakṣa* of the month of Māgha. Mirashi has highlighted the religious sanctity of this date. The Puranic evidence is quite eulogistic about the ritual bathing in the month of Māgha. The *Ṣaṭṭilā Ekādaśī* (eleventh *tithi* of the *kṛṣṇapakṣa* of the *pūrṇīmānta* Māgha) is glorified in the *Padmapurāṇa*. It is quite likely, says Mirashi, that Pravarasena II observed this ritual and made the grant on the following day after breaking his fast, cf. *CII*, V, p. 49.

[72] *CII*, V, 49, fn. 2.

[73]Published ; *EI*, XXVII, 1947-48, pp. 74-79; *CII*, V, pp. 53-56.

[74]Issued on the tenth day of the *śukla* (*pakaṣa*) of the month of Jyeṣṭha. Since the donee is called *Vishuva-vāchanaka* (*line* 21), the grant was made to the brāhmaṇa for reciting sacred texts on the occasion of *Meṣa-Saṁkrānti* (equinox). When the grant was issued, the *Senāpati* was Bāppadeva, who is also mentioned in the Siwani plates (no. 13). While the regnal year for the Wadgaon plates is given as the twenty-fifth year (*line* 41), lines 20-21 mention the year as the twentieth, where *Vīśatīma* is obviously a mistake for *pañchaviṁśatitame*.

[75]See fn. 74 above.

[76]See Mirashi, *CII*, V, p. 55, fn. 4 and p. 56, fn. 10. We think that the name has been written below line 34 and not 14 as mentioned by Mirashi.

[77]Cf. with *Vāji-Kauśika* mentioned as the *gotra* of the donee of the Indore plates (no. 15) perhaps because these donees belonged to the Vājasaneyī *śākhā* of the *Yajurveda*.

[78]Only two plates of the charter have been found and a comparison with other Vākāṭaka copperplates show that they represent the second and the last plates of the charter. It may, however, be added that the details of donees and the fact of the donation having been made previously or not which are sometimes given in the third plate are included in the extant plates. In sum, therefore, not much is lost except only the place of issue and such formal details as privileges and exemptions The inscription has been published in the *VIJ*, XXI, Pts. I-II, 1983, pp. 78-84. The inscription also deserves attention for its linguistic peculiarities, viz., features of Prakritism, cf. inscription no. 7 fn. 23.

[79]Issued on the eleventh day of the fourth fortnight of the summer season when the *Senāpati* was Bāppadeva. As already pointed out, quite a few season dates are available in Vākāṭaka inscriptions, cf. e.g. nos. 5, 7, 16, 21, 22, 29, 30 and 34. While the *Senāpati* Bāppadeva had already been known to us from the Siwani plates (no. 13) and the Wadgaon plates (no. 18) of years 18 and 25 respectively, the present inscription adds another year to his tenure. Incidentally,

this is the first inscription of Pravarasena II's twenty-sixth year.

[80]For comparable reference, cf. the Riddhapur plates (no. 14, *line* 15).

[81]This is an unique example as far as the known Vākāṭaka land grants are concerned. While we have already referred to peculiar circumstances of Pravarasena II recording the donation mentioned in the Indore plates (no. 15; cf. fn. 66 above), but here it is unambiguously stated to be a *case of renewal* of the donation. While one is only left to speculate on the reason for this decision, it is not improbable that the original charter may have been destroyed. As suggested by the editors of the inscription, there is a parallel seen in the Kurud plates of the Śarabhapurīya chief Narendra where the original charter written on palmleaves (*tālapatraśāsana*) was destroyed in fire (*gṛhadāha*) and a fresh charter was issued after ascertaining that the gifted village was under uninterrupted enjoyment by the donee's son. The fact that the Yavatmal plates refer to *tāmraśāsana* (copperplate) in line 12 is perhaps an indication of similar situation.

[82]This is slightly unusual, for, generally, the charter is addressed to state officials connected with the administrative division in which the donatcd land was situated. One may, however, compare it with references to *grāma kuṭumbinas* and residents of donated vlllages mentioned in the line 12 of the Poona plates (no. 6) and the fifth line in the Patna Museum plates (no. 24), *grāma mahattaras* led by brāhmaṇas in line 12 of the Riddhapur plates (no. 14) and villagers of the donated village led by brāhmaṇas (*brāhmaṇapurogo grāmo vaktavyaḥ*) mentioned in the Pattan plates (no. 20, *line* 21). Cf. also inscription no. 29, fn. 115.

[83]Discovered in 1935. Published in *EI*, XXIII, 1935-36, pp. 81-88; *CII*, V, pp. 57-62.

[84]Issued on the seventh day of the *bahulapakṣa* of the month of Kārttika when the *Senāpati* was Kātyāyana.

[85]For Mahāpuruṣa meaning Viṣṇu, cf. the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, II, 1, 10; V, 15, 4 and 6; 17, 16-17; VIII, 6, 32, etc. cited in *CII*, V, p. 58, fn. 3.

[86]Identified with Koṇḍarāja of the Chammak plates (no. 12, *line* 19).

[87]Said to have been found in 1942 at Tigaon, a village about 10 km north by west of Pandhurna. Published in *CII*, V, pp. 63-68. Since the language of the third plate of the charter is faulty and contains Prakrit words, it is considered to be spurious by Mirashi, (op. cit., p. 63). However, as already noted above in connection with the Basim (no. 7) and Yavatmal plates (no. 19) (fns. 23 and 78), his is far from being unusual. Indeed, crucial information is available in such portions. In the present grant too, all the details of the quantum of donations are to be found in this plate. On the basis of such linguistic peculiarities, as noticed in some of these Vākāṭaka inscriptions, we prefer to see process of cultural interaction and Sanskritisation of tribal areas, cf. *supra*, pp. 26-8, and do not accept Mirashi's contention that the third plate is spurious.

[88]The inscription records three donations at the time when Mādhappa was the *Senāpati* (cf. also no. 23, fn. 100). While the year of donation in al these cases is the twenty-ninth, there are three different dates given in two systems. The fifth plate says that the grant was made on the tenth

day of the dark fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha (*line* 53). There are two more dates given in the third plate :

(a) seventh day of the fifth fortnight of the rainy season (for donation 'b') and

(b) ninth day of the seventh fortnight of the rainy season (for donation 'c'), which are followed by two expressions *padannarāti 20* and *nijjuttinarāt 20* respectively, whose meanings are not clear to Mirashi (cf. *CII*, V, p. 66 fns. 17, & 29 and p. 68, fns. 3-4). Both these season dates have been mentioned as occasions for the recitation of sacred texts accompanied by libation of sesamum seeds (*tilavāchanake* in lines 27 and 30), i.e. śrāddha. Mirashi takes this system of giving dat s in season as another evidence of the third plate being spurious (op. cit., p. 64). His logic seems rather unintelligible. While he is aware that such dates were not unknown to the Vākāṭaka inscriptions and cites the examples of the Basim (no. 7) and Dudia plates (no. 16), it may be emphasized that more than fifty per cent of the newly discovered Vākāṭaka inscriptions since the publication of Mirashi's *Corpus* contain season dates, cf. nos. 5, 19, 22, 29, 30 and 34.

[89]See the two Belora plates (nos. 9 and 10) for reference to Pravareśvara as the place of residence of the donee of these plates and this place was linked up with Ṣaḍvimśativāṭaka. Mirashi contends that Pravareśvara was the name of the Śivaliṅga established by Pravarasena I (*CII*, V, p. 64), which should, in fact, read Pravarasena II.

[90]Of these, (b) and (c) are mentioned in the so-called spurious plate (third plate).

[91]*Vijayapallivāṭakasya prativastu*—for comparable references, note *bhūmi-prativastu* in the Pauni grant (no. 23, *line* 19) and *pūrvvaparigrahaprativastu* in the Patna Museum plates (no. 24, *lines* 6-7), both of Pravarasena II.

[92]This expression is also used in the Chammak plates (no. 12, *lines* 19-20).

[93]Found in the 1940s but surprisingly omitted by Mirashi. Noticed in *IAR*, *1972-73*, p. 40 and edited and published in *JESI*, X, 1983, pp. 108-16.

[94]Originally, the editors had suggested its date as the year 29 but it was subsequently corrected as 19, cf. *JESI*, XI, 1984. The grant was issued on the fifth day of the second fortnight of the rainy season. This is, then, another season date. For other such allusions cf. nos. 5, 7, 16, 19, 21, 29, 30 and 34. The grant was made when Kātyāyana was the *Senāpati*, who is also mentioned so in the Pattan plates of the twenty-seventh year of Pravarasena II, cf. inscription no. 20, fn. 84 above.

[95]Could this mean that some land was given to a Vaiṣṇava religious establishment? For Mahāpuruṣa meaning Viṣṇu, cf. fn. 85 above (Pattan plates).

[96]Like 49 names of brāhmaṇa donees of the Chammak plates (no. 12, *lines* 45-59), the names of donees in the present case also betray some non-Sanskritic and perhaps tribal influences. Cf. fn. 53 above.

[97]While the donated land was divided into 25 house-sites, details account for only 21 plots—2 for Mahāpuruṣa and one may assume that 19 named donees were given one plot each. If so, then some names of the donees

are missing. Alternatively, some donees might have got slightly bigger shares. But then, why are not they specified, as has been the case with Mahāpuruṣa?

[98]The donated village of Dhuvavāṭaka (in the Pandhurna plates) was also situated in the low-lying area (*gattāyā*, *line* 21) of the Vāruchcha-*rājya*.

[99]Noticed in the *IAR*, *1967-68*, p. 55; edited and published, *EI*, XXXVIII, pt. II, 1969, pp. 53-57; *VSMA 1967*, 1968, pp. 20-30.

[100]Issued on the third day of the *kṛṣṇapakṣa* of the month of Jyeṣṭha, when the *senāpati* was Mādhappa, who is also mentioned in the Pandhurna plates of the twenty-ninth year of Pravarasena II. Until the discovery of the Pauni grant, the Pandhurna plates were the last known record of this king but now his reign is extended by at least another three years.

[101]Cf. fn. 91 above.

[102]Discovered in about 1919 while digging the foundation of the bungalow of the District Superintendent of Police at Balaghat. This is probably the third plate of the set of 4 or 5 plates. Published, *JBORS*, XIV, pp. 465f; *JUN*, II, pp. 48f; *CII*, V, pp. 69-72.

[103]See also fns. 91 and 101 above.

[104]Cf. fn. 82 above. For an alternative meaning of *kuṭumbin* see *supra*, p. 33, fn. 37. See also fn. 115 below.

[105]Cf. *supra*, p. 8.

[106]Like the Patna Museum plates (no. 24), this is also an incomplete inscription—being the fourth plate of the grant consisting of five plates. The inscription has been attributed to Pravarasena II on the ground that its characters resemble those of the Patna Museum plates as well as other plates of this king. Short notice published in Hira Lal, *Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), pp. 4-5 and editcd in *JUN*, III, pp. 20-21 and *CII*, V, pp. 73-75.

[107]*IAR*, *1972-73*, p. 40 refers to "Mahurzarai" copperplate of "Pravarasena II" which was "acquired by the Central Museum, Nagpur." One wonders if there is any confusion in this report, for, there is another inscription from Mahurjhari, which clearly belongs to "Pṛithiviṣeṇa II", cf. no. 31 below.

[108]Published, *Bharat Itihas Samshodhaka Mandal Quarterly*, XV; G.H. Khare, ed., *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, II, p. 1f; *EI*, XXII, 1933-34, pp. 207-12; *CII*, V, pp. 76-78. The plate was intended to be the first of a set of three or four copperplates. Further, the word *dṛiṣṭaṁ*, which usually occurs in the beginning of finished charters of the Vākāṭakas as a mark of authentication is conspicuous by its absence. Other instances, where *dṛiṣṭaṁ* is missing, are the Riddhapur plates, (no. 14), Balaghat plates (No. 28) and the India Office plates (no. 32).

[109]Almost all grants of Pravarasena II were issued either from his earlier capital Nandivardhanā or the later one, Pravarapura (exception being inscription nos. 14, 17 and 18). Why were, therefore, Durg plates issued from Padmapura? Palaeographically too, the grant was probably of a later day. Padmapura was probably a capital of a successor of Pravarasena II. May be, due to the pressure of the Nalas, Narendrasena shifted his capital there.

[110]Discovered in 1893. Published in *EI*, IX, 1907-8, pp. 267-71; *CII*, V, pp. 79-81. This is also an incomplete inscription. It is particularly noticeable for the eulogy of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II, how he rescued the Vākāṭaka kingdom from the doldrums and how his commands were honoured by the lords of Kosalā, Mekalā and Mālava (*lines* 26-35).

[111]The Mandhal grant of the tenth year and the Mahurjhari plates of seventeenth year of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II describe him as *magnavaṁśoddhartuḥ* (*lines* 21 and 26 respectively—meaning, "rescuer of the Sunken family". The present record adds *dvi* before this, perhaps to highlight that the king rescued the fortunes of the kingdom twice. While V.V. Mirashi has preferred to delete *dvi* and suggested an alternative reading *nimagnavaṁśasyoddhartuḥ* (cf. *CII*, V, p. 81, fn. 7), the editors of the above-mentioned Mandhal grant have suggested that the "*second* danger to the Vākāṭaka family came *after* the 17th year of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II and, therefore, the incomplete Balaghat record should be dated after that" (cf. *VSMA* 1977, 1978, p. 169, *emphases added*). A careful comparison with the photograph in Mirashi's *Corpus* shows clearly that the word *dvi* is there in the plate.

[112]For the circumstances of the find, cf. fn. 44 above. Noted in *IAR, 1975-76*, p. 63; *1976-67*, p. 60; edited and text published in *VSMA, 1977*, 1978, pp. 157-67. The grant has been called '*Jayaśāsana*' (cf. the Seal).

[113]The plates represent the earliest evidence of the seal of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II and the inscription is the earliest known record of the king. Issued on the twelfth day of the seventh fortnight of the summer season. For other grants with season dates, cf. nos. 5, 7, 16, 19, 21, 22, 30 and 34. It was issued when Viṣṇudatta was the *Senāpati*.

[114]The earlier reference to this is in the Riddhapur grant (no. 14) but that was issued from the footprints of 'the lord of Rāmagiri'. In the present case, however, Rāmagiri has been specifically called a *sthāna*.

[115]Such references are also noticed in the Poona plates (no. 6), Riddhapur plates (no. 14), Yawatmal plates (no. 19), Pattan plates (no. 20) and the Patna Museum plates (no. 24). cf. fns. 82 and 104 above.

[116]*VSMA, 1977*, 1978, p. 164, fn. 4.

[117]For the circumstances of the find, cf. fn. 44 above. Noted in *IAR, 1975-76*, p. 63; *1976-77*, pp. 60-61; edited and text published in *VSMA* 1977, 1978, pp. 167-74. Like the previous grant, this too has been called a '*Jayaśāsana*' in the Seal.

[118]Issued on the first day of the first fortnight of the summer season when the *Senāpati* was Viṣṇudatta, who is also mentioned in the inscription no. 29. For season dates in other Vākāṭaka inscriptions, cf. nos. 5, 7, 16, 19, 21, 22, 29 and 34.

[119]While the ancestors of the donees are not mentioned, two of these four donees, viz. (*a*) and (*b*) are common to the earlier Mandhal grant (*supra*, no. 29) as well. They may be identical. The editors of the present inscription have even gone to tne extent of identifying donees (*c*) and (*d*) as well, as sons and grandsons of the same Mātṛisvāmī and Droṇasvāmī respectively as mentioned in the last inscription. Cf. *VSMA, 1977*, 1978, p. 168.

[120]Discovered in 1971. First noticed in *Taruna Bharat* (Marathi Daily, Nagpur) dated 28 November 1971 (Sunday Supplement), it was also reported by S B.Deo, *Mahurjhari Excavations, 1970-72*, Nagpur, 1973, p. 2. It has been edited and published in *VSMA* 1971, 1972, pp. 53-77.

[121]Issued on the twelfth day of the *śuklapakṣa* of the month of Kārttika, when Ravidatta was the *Senāpati*.

[122]The findspot of this inscription is not known. Published: *NIA*, II pp. 177f; 721f; *CII*, V, pp. 101-2. It is the first plate of a set of 4 or 5 plates. There is no *dṛiṣṭaṃ*—the expression of authentication. There is not even an empty space for it as is the case in the Durg and Balaghat plates (nos. 27 and 28 respectively).

[123]Discovered by Dr Shobhana Gokhale in 1963-64. It was lying in a nullah of the river Vatsagulmā. Noted in *IAR, 1963-64*, pp. 22, 72 and edited by her in *EI*, XXXVII, pt. 1, 1967, pp. 1-5. See also two articles following Gokhale's. Cf. Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Some Observations on the Hisse-Borala Inscription of Vakāṭaka Devasena", *PIHC*, 31st Session, Varanasi, 1969 (1970), pp. 47-55. Near the findspot of the inscription remains of an ancient brick-wall (brick size: 40 × 18 × 19 cm.) are found beside an old lake. Even today this wall is locally called *pāḷu*, which means "bank of a lake"—ideal place for an artificial lake.

[124]This is the only known Vākāṭaka inscription, which is dated in the Śaka era. All other inscriptions of the dynasty are in regnal years.

[125]Thalner on the bank of the Tapti and about 25 km NW of Sirpur in the Dhule district of Maharashtra. First published in the *Samshodhaka* of the Rajavade Samshodhana Mandal, vol. 47, nos. 1-3, 1980. For fuller bibliographic details, cf. *supra*, p. 39. The characters of the inscription are marked by round knob scooped out hollow instead of box-head. The word *dṛiṣṭaṃ* too is missing here.

[126]Issued on the twelfth day of the fourth fortnight of the rainy season. Such season dates are also found in inscriptions nos. 5, 7, 16, 19, 21, 22, 29 and 30.

[127]For a detailed discussion of the quantum of donation see *supra*, p. 32, fn. 23 (a-c).

[128]Published: *JBBRAS*, VII, 1862, pp. 56f; *ICTWI*, pp. 69f; *ASWI*, IV, 1883, pp. 124f; *PIHC*, 4th Session, 1940, pp. 79f; *HAS*, 1941; *CII*, V, pp. 103-11; *NUJ*, no. 6, December 1940, pp. 41ff; *SI*, pp. 449-55.

[129]Varāhadeva was the minister of Hariṣeṇa, whose dates are *c.* AD 475-95. The inscription is basically a eulogy of Hariṣeṇa's predecessors as well as that of two ministers --Hastibhoja and his son Varāhadeva. It also gives an elaborate description of the Cave (XVI).

[130]First published in *ICTWI*, pp. 88f; *ASWI*, IV, 1883, pp. 138f; *CII*, V, pp. 112-19. The Ghaṭotkacha Cave is at Gulwada, about 18 km west of Ajanta. It gives a complete genealogy of Varāhadeva, the minister of Hariṣeṇa.

[131]May be referred to the same period as the previous inscription.

[132]Though no specific *gotras* are mentioned in the inscription, there are useful details having a bearing on the social milieu. References to "a great race of excellent Brāhmaṇas called Vallūras, who are well known in the south" (*verse*

3), comparison of Yajñapti's learning with Bhṛgu, Atri, Aṅgiras and Garga (*verse* 4)and Soma's two wives—one kṣatriya and the other brāhamaṇa are some indicators thereof.

[133]*JASB*, V, p. 554; *JBBRAS*, VII, pp. 53f; *ICTWI*, pp. 73f; *ASWI*, IV, 1883, p. 128f; *HAS*, no. 15; *CII*, V, pp. 120-29. The inscription is ascribed to a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka emperor Hariṣeṇa, i.e. end of the fifth century AD.

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Notes:

1. The following abbreviations have been used:
   (d) donee; (D) Dūtaka; (g) *gotra*; (s) scribe; (Se) *Senāpati*; (vs) vedic sacrifice.
2. In case of the names of donees, both Sanskritic and Prakritic versions have been listed, where necessary. Thus, Deaja and Devārya stand for just one person.
3. For references to maps here, Appendix V may also be consulted.

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Errata

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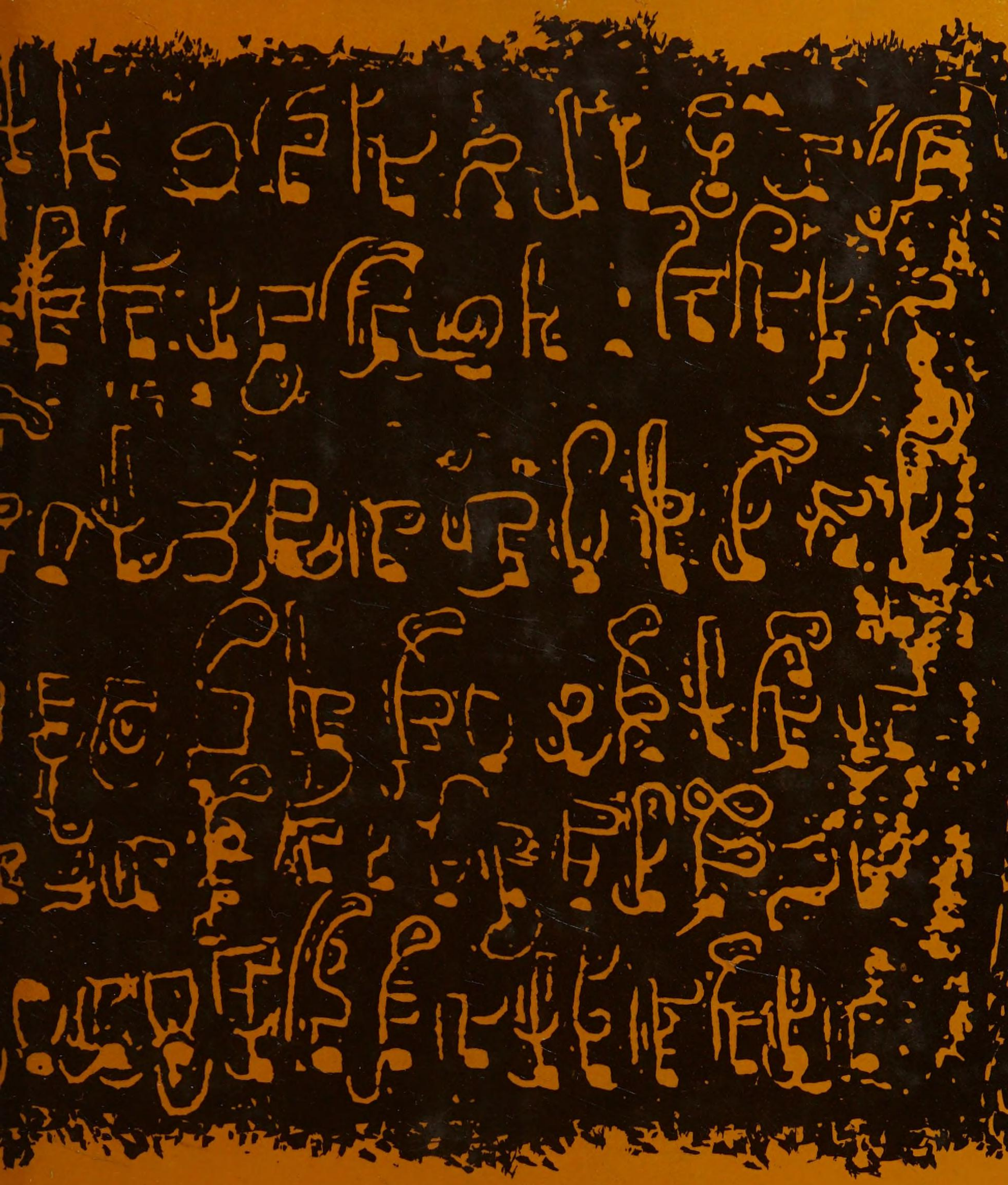
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